

طوبی میرزا هندال آنله سلطانم پیکم خواه همدی خواجه بودند تبر
با یام عیر حیف خواجه فرزند دیکرند نشستند و فرزند نمی شد
اکه جانم سلطانم را بفرزندی نخواهد شد بودند و دو ساله
که خانزاده پیکم نخواهد کرد و بودند و عجی دیوبست می شدند
و به برادر زاده خود داده و طوبی را در کمال لطفات و چشم
کردند کوتاهه و اسدقه و پنج توشک و پنج یستوق و یک
تیکیه کلان و دو تیکیه کلوه و قوشقه و لفاف مع خراکاه جلخ
مع سه توشک تنه زردوزی و سروپاپهای میرزا اچار
و تاج زردوزی و فوطه و روپاک و رومال زردوزی و
قور پوش زردوزی و سلطانم پیکم تنه نیمه تکمه دار جواهر
یکی از لعل و یکی از یاقوت و یکی از نقره و یکی از فرون و
یکی از زبرجد و یکی از عین الہرہ دیکر زمره کوره و یک
چار قب و چار قربجی تکمه دار و یک حفت حلقة لعل و
یک حفت حلقة در سه پنجه و یک پژرشناسی یکدشت و خطب
و دیکر اسباب و اشیاء و رخت و رخوت و کار خانها از نم

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

NEW SERIES

I

THE

HISTORY OF HUMĀYŪN

(HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA)

BY

GUL-BADAN BEGAM (PRINCESS ROSE-BODY)

Translated, with Introduction, Notes, Illustrations and
Biographical Appendix, and reproduced in the Persian
from the only known MS of the British Museum

BY

ANNETTE S BEVERIDGE, M.R.A.S

*PRINTED AND PUBLISHED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY*

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1902

To

MY HUSBAND,

WHO SET MY FEET UPON THE PERSIAN WAY,

AND HAS STREWED IT

WITH OPEN HEARTED LARGESSE OF HELP AND COUNSEL

A S B

November, 1901

PREFACE

It was in October, 1900, that the late Mr F F Arbuthnot made arrangements with me for the publication of this volume. It has now to put forth bereft of his guidance I can but trust that he would have given to the finished work the welcome with which he greeted the small portion I was able to show him in print. It is natural to feel towards him what he has expressed in his dedication of the Assemblies of *Al Ḥārī* to Chenery, and to hope he may be glad of the fulfilment of this piece of his work.

The little history which is reproduced in this volume has few, if any, compeers, inasmuch as it is the work of a Musalmānī, and lights up her woman's world. She writes colloquially and without pose, and is unaffected and spontaneous. For these reasons I have tried to make an accurate copy of her text, and to preserve her characteristics of orthography and diction, and this the more that the British Museum MS. may be her very own, unique, and autographic. With a few chosen exceptions, I have reproduced all her deflections from common rule without comment, my additions to the MS. are limited to a few *izāfats* and other signs of which example is given at some place in the MS.

Princess Rose body has rendered one essential service to history, by giving precise details of relationship in her own and some contemporary families. Up till now, however, no use has been made of her information, and her book has remained, both in India and Europe, a literary *pāṇḍitashīn*.

The Biographical Appendix, which I have modelled in admiration of Professor Blochmann's in his *līn-i-ahbārī*, will, I hope, be of use to future writers. It is the outcome of the notes of several years, but it is incomplete and over brief. Nevertheless, it discloses the elements of many a romantic story.

One of an author's most agreeable final touches is the expression of thanks to those who have helped his book on its way. My obligation to my husband is too great to be told. I am much indebted to Mr A G Ellis for his unfailing kindness during the long and pleasant time of my work in the British Museum, and to my friends Mr E H Whinfield and Mr W Irvine for the expression of their opinions on several perplexing points. As I have said in writing of the plates, I owe all my illustrations but one to Mr Bourdillon, B C S.

The printing of a book so full as is this one of unfamiliar names and of diacritically-marked letters entails a heavy tax upon proof-readers and compositors. I wish to express my sense of this, and to thank Messrs Billing, their proof-readers and their compositors for what they have done to accomplish a difficult and tiresome task. My thanks are indeed due and are offered to Messrs Drueylin for the patience and skill with which they have dealt with Persian copy from my untrained hand.

I now venture to express, in Mr E Granville Browne's words, the thought which haunts all who make a book, and to beg my critics to listen to their plea.

'Now, seeing that to fail and fall is the fate of all, and to claim exemption from the lot of humanity a proof of pride and vanity, and somewhat of mercy our common need, therefore let such as read, and errors detect, either ignore or neglect, or correct and conceal them, rather than revile and reveal them.'

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

أَنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ فَعَلَّ وَمَا يَرِيدُ
كُلُّ إِنْسَانٍ إِلَّا مَا أَعْطَاهُ اللَّهُ
وَمَا لَهُ بِهِ مِنْ حَرَةٍ
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

AUTOGRAPH NOTE OF BHAI JAHAN.

17 JUNE 1908

NOTE ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS

THE page of the MS selected for reproduction in Plate I contains several words which I have found difficult, and concerning which explanation will be welcomed. It and Plate No II make silent protest against printing, and plead that the sun best shows the grace and beauty of manuscript.

With the exception of the first illustration, all the plates are photographic reproductions from a splendidly illustrated Persian MS., entitled the *Tārīkh-i-khandān-i-tīmūniya*, which is the choicest volume in the library with which Maulvī Khūda-baksh Khan Bahādūr has enriched the city of Patna.¹

The Emperor Shāh-jahān appears to have paid R 8,000 for the illustrations in the volume. The MS itself is of older date, and Mr Beveridge has found in it some portions, at least, of the *Tārīkh-i-alṭī*. The title-page is wanting.

The volume has a further distinction, inasmuch as it bears on an opening page an autograph note of Shāh-jahān. This is reproduced (as Plate No II) on the opposite page, and by its charm and grace is worthy of that royal fount of creative beauty.

The pictures of Bābar's devotion of himself and the triad connected with the birth of Akbar are admirable, they repay close attention and enlargement under a glass.

¹ A copy of the Maulvī's catalogue (published while he was Chief Justice in Hydarābād) is in the British Museum, and may be consulted for some details of the book (p. 110). Mr Beveridge also gives some particulars about it in the *R.A.S. Journal*, January, 1901, p. 81.

I am indebted for these pictures, first to Mr Beveridge who, when he examined this *Tārikh* in 1899, thought of my book, and, secondly, to Mr Bourdillon, the then Commissioner of Patna, who most kindly photographed them for us

TRANSLATION OF SHĀH-JAHĀN'S NOTE

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE

This history, which contains an abridgment of the affairs of his Majesty, Sāhib-qirān Gītī-sitānī (Timūr), and of his glorious descendants, and of the events of the days of 'Aishh-āshyānī (Akbar)—May God make clear his proof!—down to the twenty-second year of his reign, was written in the time of Shāh Bābā (Akbar)

Signed Shāh-jahān Pādshāh, son of Jahāngīr Pādshāh, son of Akbar Pādshāh

INTRODUCTION

PART I

BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE PRINCESS AND HER FAMILY¹

SECTION I — UNDER BĀBAR

GUL-BADAN BEGAM (Princess Rose-body) was a daughter of Zahru-d-din Muhammad Bābar, in whom were united the lines of highest Central Asian aristocracy—namely, that of Timūr the Türk, through his son Mīrān-shāh, and that of Chingīz the Mughal, through his son Chaghatai. He was born on February 14th, 1483, and succeeded to his father's principality of Farghāna when under twelve. He spent ten years of early youth in trying to save his small domain from the clutch of kinsmen, but, being forced to abandon the task, went southwards in 1504 to Afghānistān, where he captured Kābul from its Arghūn usurpers.

Princess Gul-badan was born somewhere about 1523 and when her father had been lord in Kābul for nineteen years, he was master also in Kunduz and Badakhshān, had held Bajaur and Swat since 1519, and Qandahār for a year. During ten of those nineteen years he had been styled *pādshāh*, in token of headship of the house of Timūr and of

¹ In selecting from the mass of material which, without discursive ness, might have been included under the above heading, only that has been used which concerns the begam or is in touch with her interests and sympathies.

This Introduction corrects several errors which occur in an article on the life and writings of the begam, and which was published by me in the *Calcutta Review*, April, 1898.

his independent sovereignty To translate *pādshāh*, however, as is often done, by the word *emperor* would give a wrong impression of Bābāi's status amongst rulers at this height of his rising fortunes Nevertheless, Gul-badan was born the child of a strong and stable chief, and of one who was better followed in war than his nominal domains would allow, because his army was drawn for the most part from tribes not under his government, and was not territorial and of Kābul but personal and inherited

Bābāi says that he cherished the desire to conquer beyond the Indus for nineteen years At the date of Gul-badan's birth he was engaged in the attempt, and succeeded when she was about two and a half years old He then became the first Türkī sovereign in Hindūstān, and the founder of its miscalled Mughal dynasty

If the princess had first seen light in London instead of in Kābul, she would have had Henry VIII for king, and the slumbers of her birth-year might have been troubled as men marched forth at Wolsey's will to fight and lose in France Her personal vicissitudes were the greater that she was a Timūrid and Türk She spent her childhood under her father's rule in Kābul and Hindūstān, her girlhood and young wifehood shared the fall and exile of Humāyūn, and her maturity and failing years slipped past under the protection of Akbar

Her mother was Dil-dār Begam—the Heart-holding Princess—of whose descent, it is noticeable to observe, neither her husband nor her daughter gives any information This peculiarity of omission she shares with Māham, the wife of Bābar's affection and the mother of his heir, and with Gul-rukh, the mother of Kāmrān and 'Askarī All three ladies are spoken of by our begam with the style befitting the wives of a king, all were mothers of children, and for this reason, if for no other, it seems natural that something should be said of their birth Bābar frequently mentions Māham, and calls her by this name *tout court* Dil-dār's name occurs in the Türkī version of the Memoirs, but not in the Persian, and she is there styled *āghācha*—

, , a lady, but not a begam, by birth Gul-rukh is, I believe, never named by Bābar This silence does not necessarily imply low birth It may be an omission of the contemporarily obvious, and also it may indicate that no one of the three women was of royal birth, although all seem to have been of good family

Three Timūrids had been Bābar's wives in childhood and youth These were 'Āyisha, who left him before 1504 and who was betrothed to him when he was five, Zainab, who died in 1506 or 1507, and Ma'sūma, whom he married in 1507 and who died at the birth of her first child Mīham was married in Khurāsān, and therefore in 1506, Dil-dār and Gul-rukh probably considerably later, and after the three royal ladies had passed away from the household The next recorded marriage of Bābar is one of 1519, when a Yusufzāī chief brought him his daughter, Bibi Mubārīka, as the seal of submission She had no children, and was an altogether charming person in the eyes of those who have written of her

To return now to Dil-dār She bore five children, three girls and two boys The eldest was born in an absence of Bābar from Kābul and in Khost This fixes her birth as occurring somewhere between 1511 and 1515 She was Gul-iang (Rose-hued), named like her sisters from the rose, then came Gul-chihra (Rose-cheeked), and then Abū'n-nāṣīn Muhammad, the Hindāl of history, who was born in 1519, next was Gul-badan (Rose-body), and last a boy, whom his sister calls Alwar, a word which looks like a sobriquet drawn from the Indian town He died after the migration of the household to Āgra, and in 1529

Princess Gul-badan was born some two years before Bābar set out on his last expedition across the Indus, so her baby eyes may have seen his troops leave Kābul in November, 1525, for the rallying-place at Jacob's Village (*Dih-i-ya'qūb*) It is not mere word-painting to picture her as looking down from the citadel at what went on below, for she tells of later watching from this view-point which would give the farewell glimpse of the departing

army, and, as weeks and years rolled on, the first sight of many a speck on the eastern road which took form as lom-gut runner or mounted courier

We who live upon the wire, need a kindled imagination to realize what it was to those left behind, to have their men-folk go to India. With us, fancy is checked by maps and books, and has not often to dwell on the unknown and inconceivable. To them, what was not a blank was probably a fear. Distance could have no terrors for them, because they were mostly, by tribe and breeding, inland nomads, many of them had come from the far north and thought the great mountains or the desert sands the desirable setting for life. Such experience, however, would not help to understand the place of the Hindūs, with its heats, its rains, strange beasts, and hated and dreaded pagans.

It is not easy to say wherein lies the pleasure of animating the silhouettes which are all that names, without detail of character, bring down from the past. Perhaps its roots run too deep and close to what is dear and hidden in the heart, for them to make way readily to the surface in speech. But it is an undoubted pleasure, and it is what makes it agreeable to linger with these women in Kābul in those hours when our common human nature allows their thoughts and feelings to be clear to us. Sometimes their surroundings are too unfamiliar for us to understand what sentiments they would awaken, but this is not so when there is news of marches, fighting, defeat, or victory. Then the silhouettes round, and breathe, and weep or smile.

Bābāi left few fighting men in Kābul, but there remained a great company of women and children, all under the nominal command and charge of Prince Kāmīān, who was himself a child. His exact age I am not able to set down, for Bābāi does not chronicle his birth, an omission which appears due to its falling in one of the gaps of the Memons. Bābāi left the city on November 17th, and was joined on December 3rd by Humāyūn at the Garden of Fidelity (*Baqh-i-wāṣī*). He had to wait for the boy, and was much displeased, and reprimanded him severely.

Humāyūn was then seventeen years old, and since 1520 had been governor of Bidakshan. He had now brought over his army to reinforce his father, and it may well be that Mihmūn had something to do with his delayed march from Kibul. She could have seen him only at long intervals since she had accompanied Bābar, in 1520, to console and settle her child of twelve in his distant and undesired post of authority.

Shortly after the army had gone eastwards, disquieting news must have reached Kabul, for three times before the middle of December, 1525, Bābar was alarmingly ill. What he records of drinking and drug eating may explain this, he thought his illness a chastisement, and set himself to repent of sins which were bred of good fellowship and by forgetfulness in gay company but his conflict with them was without victory. He referred his punishment to another cause than these grosser acts, and came to regard the composition of satirical verses as a grave fault. His reflections on the point place him near higher moralists, for he says it was sad a tongue which could repeat sublime words, should occupy itself with meaner and despicable fancies. 'Oh, my Creator! I have tyrannized over my soul, and if Thou art not bountiful to me, of a truth I shall be numbered amongst the accursed.' These are some of the thoughts of Bābar which lift our eyes above what is antipathetic in him, and explain why he wins the respect and affection of all who take trouble to know him.

Not long after January 5th, 1526, a messenger would reach Kabul who took more than news, for Bābar had found manuscripts in the captured fort of Milwat, and now sent some for Kāmrān, while he gave others to Humāyūn. They were valuable, but not so much so as he had hoped, and many were theological. This and other records about books remind one that they were few and precious in those days. How many that we now rank amongst the best of the sixteenth century had not yet been written! There was

no *Tarīkh-i-ashīdī*, and the very stuff of the *Tūzūk* was in the living and making

On February 26th Humāyūn created news which would be as welcome to Māham as it was to Bābar, for he was successful in his first expedition on active service. This occurred at Hīsān-firoza, and the town and district were given to him with a sum of money. News of the victory was despatched to Kābul from Shāhābād, and immediately after Bābar's record of this in the Memoirs, there occurs a passage of varied interest, although it seems to European ears a somewhat strange commemoration of a detail of toilette. 'At this same station and this same day the razoī or scissoīs were first applied to Humāyūn's beard.' Bābar made an entry in June, 1504, of the same act accomplished for himself. It was one which Turks celebrated by festivity. The entry quoted above is made as though by Bābar, but it is followed by an explanation that it is inserted by Humāyūn in pious imitation of his father's own. Humāyūn did this in 1553-4, shortly before he set out to recover his father's lost domains in Hindūstān. The date is fixed by his statement that he made the interpolation when he was forty-six.¹

Humāyūn's little victory would be dwarfed by the next news of the royal army, for April 12th, 1526, brought the battle of Pānīpat and the overthrow of Ibrāhīm Lodī Afghān, the Emperor of Hindūstān. The swiftest of runners would carry these tidings to Kābul in something under a month. On May 11th Bābar distributed the treasures of five kings, and left himself so little that he was jestingly dubbed beggar (*qalandar*). He forgot no one, but sent gifts far and wide to kinsmen and friends, and to shrines both in

¹ There is a point of great interest about this note of Humāyūn and Mr Erskine's translation of it. I venture to refer readers who take interest in the Memoirs, as a book, to my article on the Türkī text of the Memoirs (*Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, July, 1899), which contains information gathered from some sources which were not at Mr Erskine's disposition, and which suggest that another reading is allowable to the concluding words (not mentioned in this text) of Humāyūn's interpolation.

Arabia and 'Irāq Kābul was specially remembered and a small coin sent for every soul within it Gul-badan tells what was given to the ladies, beginning with the great begams, the aunts of frequent mention It was certainly a wonderful day when the curiosities and splendid things of Hind were unpacked for their inspection, and very welcome, too, would be the amīr who escorted the precious caravan He was Bābar's friend, Khwāja Kīlān, who had extorted a most unwilling leave from India on the ground that his constitution was not suited to the climate of that country, a delicate assumption of blame to his own defects which it is to be hoped he conveyed to the ladies as a reassurance After the gay social fashion of the time, no doubt he helped the ladies to run day into night in the tale-telling they loved It appears probable that there was no such complete seclusion of Tūrkī women from the outside world as came to be the rule in Hindūstān The ladies may have veiled themselves, but I think they received visitors more freely, and more in accordance with the active life of much-travelling peoples, than is the case in Hindū or Moslim houses in India at the present day¹.

The little Gul-badan will have had her present with the rest, and probably, like some others, it was chosen by her father specially for her He sent a list with the gifts so that each person might receive what he had settled upon This he is said to have done both in allotting the jewels and the dancing-guls, the latter of whom are mentioned as sent to the great begams Their novel style of dancing ranks them amongst the 'curiosities of Hind,' but nothing is said about their views of presentation to foreign ladies in Kābul Certainly Gul-badan will have seen them dance, and she will also have enjoyed the joke played off by Bābar from Āgra on an old dependent called 'Asas (night-guard)

¹ I remember a Muhammadan gentleman astonishing me by a story of a Musalmānī child who died of the shock to her propriety when she was taken out from the *haram* He was an 'English educated' man, and the child was his sister

This and all the begam's stories are left for her to tell, as she does later in this volume

There came with the gifts an injunction which calls out the remark, that at all crises Bābāi gave expression to religious feeling and performed due devotional ceremonies He had desired Khwāja Kīlān to arrange for the ladies to go out of the city to the Gaiden of the Audience-hall, so that they might there make the prostration of thanks for the success of his aims They were to go in state, and to remain some days He must have sighed as he planned an excursion so much to his liking and in which he could not share The act of thanksgiving would be done under a summer heaven, in an enchanting June garden, of which the snowy hills were the distant girdle Our princess will have gone out with the rest, and with them her small figure, bravely attired, will have bowed forehead to the earth in thanks to the Giver of Victory Tender thoughts will have travelled to the absent, and especially to him who loved his Kābul as Bābāi did

It is remarkable in him that, longing to return home as he did, he should have had endurance to remain and fight on in Hindūstān His constitution was assuredly not suited to its climate His men hated it, his closest friend had left it, Humāyūn and other intimates were soon to follow the khwāja on leave, but he resisted all influences, even when he had become so homesick that he wept at sight of fruit from Kābul Only love of action, desire to be great, and capacity for greatness, could have held and upheld him at his self chosen post It cannot be called a small matter on which the history of hundreds of years turns, and yet it was but the innate quality of one man, and that man very human Bābar stood fast, and India had Akbar and his splendid followers and all the galaxy of their creations in sandstone and marble

When Gul-badan was about two years old, and therefore shortly before her father left Kābul, she was adopted by Māham Begam to rear and educate Māham was the chief lady of the royal household and mother of Bābāi's eldest

son, she was supreme, and had well defined rights over other inmates. Perhaps this position justified her in taking from Dil-dār two of her children, Hindāl and Gul-badān, as she did in 1519 and 1525. Before 1519 Māham had lost four children younger than Humāyūn, they were three girls and a boy, and all died in infancy. So it may have been heart-hunger that led to the adoptions she made, or they might be the outcome of affection for Bābar (it is said she was to him what 'Āyisha was to Muhammad), which determined her, if she could not rear her children for him, at least to give him his children with the stamp of her love upon them. In some cases which are mentioned by Bābar, adoptions were made by a childless wife of high degree from a slave or servant, but no such person seems behind those from Dil-dār. She is spoken of in terms which preclude the supposition that (as Haidār puts it in another place,) she was outside the circle of distinction.

The story of Hindal's adoption is briefly this. In 1519 Bābar was away from Kābul on the expedition which gave him Bajau and Swat, and which brought into the royal household Bibī Mubārika Jusufzā̄. On January 25th he received a letter from Māham, who was in Kābul, about a topic which had been discussed earlier between them—namely, the adoption by her of a child of which Dil-dār expected the birth. Now she repeated her wishes and, moreover, asked Bābar to take the fates and declare whether it would be a boy or girl. Whether he performed the divination rite himself, or had it done by some of the women who were in camp with the army, (he speaks of it as believed in by women,) it was done, and the result was announced to Māham as promising a boy. The rite is simple. Two pieces of paper are inscribed, one with a boy's name and one with a girl's, and are enwrapp'd in clay and set in water. The name first disclosed, as the clay opens out in the moisture, reveals the secret. On the 26th Bābar wrote, giving over the child to Māham and communicating the prophecy. On March 4th a boy was born, to whom

was given the name of *Abū'n-nāsir* with the sobriquet of *Hindāl* by which he is known in history and which is perhaps to be read as meaning 'of the dynasty of Hind'¹ Three days after birth he was taken, whether she would or no, from *Dil-dār* to be made over to *Māham*

It is clear that *Dil-dār* objected, and although the separation could not have been so complete where the real and adoptive mothers are part of one household as it is under monogamous custom, it was certainly hard to lose her firstborn son in this way. She had still her two elder girls. *Gul-badan* was born four years later and removed from her care at the age of two, by which date, it may be, she had her son *Alwar*. In after-years *Dil dār*, as a widow, lived with *Hindāl*, and she had back *Gul badan* while the latter was still a young and unmarried girl.

Bābar was separated from his family for over three years after he left *Kābul* in 1525. The tedium of waiting for news or for his return was broken for the ladies by several interesting home events, and by several items of Indian news which must have stirred the whole community in *Kābul*. On August 2nd, 1526, *Māham* gave birth to a son who was named *Fūlūq*, but he too died in babyhood and his father never saw him. In December, 1526, there occurred to *Bābar* what must have roused anger and dread in all *Kābul*, for he was poisoned by the mother of *Ibrāhīm*.

¹ The account of the adoption of *Hindāl* is given in much abbreviated form both by the Persian and English versions of the *Memoirs*. The latter has, indeed, an error which is not borne out by the Persian *i.e.*, it states that several children had been born in 1519. The correct statement is that several had been born by *Māham* younger than *Hūmāvūn*. The *Türkī* text of *Kehr* and *Il'munsky* has a longer account, with curious details which may have been omitted on revision of the *Memoirs* by *Bābar* himself in later copies, or may have been omitted by the Persian translator. The former is the more probable suggestion, because if the full passage had occurred in the *Ilphinston* *Türkī* text used by *Jevden* and *Irshad* it could not have escaped both these careful workers. (This MS. is unfortunately not forthcoming for consultation.) The point is of interest as bearing on the history of the *Türkī* texts. It would support the opinion that *Kehr's* source is one of the early copies of the *Memoirs* since the passage is one which from its domestic nature would be less likely to be added to, than omitted from a revised version.

Lodi Mughan How Bâbar conveyed the news of this to his people at home can be seen, because he has inserted the letter he wrote to allay anxiety, as soon as recovered strength permitted. Gul-badan has given the main points of the crime. She observes that Bibâr had called the 'ill-fated demon,' mother, and had shown her kindness, a sectional view which leaves out the Mughân mourner, Buwâ Begam, whose son had been defeated and killed, his dynasty overthrown, and herself pitied by the man on whom she tried to avenge herself. Her fate is worth commemorating. She was first put under contribution--made over for the exploitation of her fortune to two of Bâbar's officers--and then placed in the custody of a trusty man for conveyance to Kâbul. Perhaps she decided her reception there, for she contrived to elude her guards in crossing the Indus, threw herself into the water, and was drowned.

The letter above-mentioned is full of what one likes in Bâbar. He quotes, 'Whoever comes to the gates of death knows the value of life,' and says, with thanks to Heaven, that he did not know before how sweet a thing life is. Here, too, he shows that he felt the tie which bound him to the Power in whose hands are the issues of life and death. He, his daughter, and his cousin and literary compeer, Haidar Mirza Dughlat, frequently express religious sentiment, and here Bâbar exhibits the human graces of kind thought and solicitude to lessen the anxieties of his distant household and people. He forced himself to live again, in words, the horrible experiences of which he wrote while still in retirement, and four days¹ only after their occurrence.

¹ This letter bears date December 26th, 1526 and thus provides a detail which is of use when considering the probable time of composition of the Memoirs. Was a copy of the letter kept? Did the original return from Kâbul? The impression given by points of evidence is that the book was written down in present form later than the date of this letter. There are in the beginning of it statements which refer its composition or revised version to 1528. The same point is raised by letters of 1529 to Humâyûn and Khwâja Kilân, the date of which may indicate progress in the composition.

All the letters share another ground of interest, which is that, having

Three months later Kābul had news of an uplifting victory, inasmuch as it had been won from men of alien faith, whose overthrow was a plenary religious duty to the Moslim. It was fought on March 13th, 1527, against Hindū Rājpūts under Rānā Sangā, and at Khānwa, on the skirts of the yet uncrowned hill of Sikri. It was preluded by dread amongst the Musalmāns, and by solemn acts which should make them more worthy to be the tools of Heaven and to enforce the stern belief that in battle with the pagan there was vengeance of the cause of God. Men declared repentance for sin and took oaths of abstinence, gold and silver drinking-vessels, probably of Persian handicraft and artistic beauty, were broken up and given to the poor, wine was poured out upon the ground, and some was salted into vinegar. Where the libation of penitence was offered, the earth was dedicated to the uses of an almshouse with chambered well. So strengthened, the Musalmāns went into the fight and made great slaughter of valiant foes.

The victory was followed by change in the personnel of Bābar's army, which had long been wearying for home and murmuring against Hindūstān. This was especially so amongst Humāyūn's Badakhshīs, who were accustomed to short service of one or two months, and it was now almost sixteen since they had left even Kābul. Only promise of immediate leave to follow had induced some men to stay for this one fight, and they had been told that when it was over, all who desired it should have freedom to go. Many amīrs had given 'stupid and unformed opinions' against remaining in Hindūstān at all, and down to the humblest followers these views had found acceptance. As has been said, nothing would persuade Bābar's closest friend to stay with him, although before his final decision

been composed in Tūrki, they have been preserved in Tūrki in the Persian translation. This may be an act of pious deference. The Memoirs were certainly altogether in Tūrki, but they were not addressed to individuals as were the letters. It is a fact of interest, and open to pleasant interpretation.

was acted on, his master had called a council, and had expressed himself with directness and vigour

'I told them that empire and conquest could not exist without the material and means of war, that royalty and nobility could not exist without subjects and dependent provinces, that by the labour of many years, after undergoing great hardships, measuring many a toilsome journey, and raising various armies—after exposing myself and my troops to circumstances of great danger, to battle and bloodshed, by the Divine favour I had routed my formidable enemy (Ibrāhīm), and achieved the conquest of numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present hold. And now, what force compels, what hardship obliges us, without visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat to Kābul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture? Let anyone who calls himself my friend never henceforward make such a proposal, but if there is any among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or to give up his purpose of return, let him depart. Having made this fair and reasonable proposal, the discontented were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purpose.'

After the Rājpūt defeat the time came for the promised leave, but there is no mention in the Memoirs of a general exodus. Humāyūn went with his Badakhshis, and also, as he seemed 'uncomfortable,' Mahdī¹ Khwāja, Khānzāda's husband. He, but not only he, had been through one hot season in the plains and another was approaching,—a discomposing fact, and one to wring the fancy and the feet to Kābul. He, however, left his son Ja'far in his government of Etāwa, and returned to India himself in 1528.

Humāyūn said farewell on April 16th, 1527, and betook himself to Dihlī, where he broke open the treasury and

¹ There are difficulties in tracing the descent of this man, which are discussed in the Appendix Cf Index, s n Muhammad Mahdī

stole its contents If he had needed money to pay his men, his act might have taken different colour and have been leniently described , but he had had lavish gifts in money and kind from Bābar, and had been allowed to keep the great diamond which the Rānī of Guāliār had given him as the price of family honour and which, there is good ground to believe, is the *Koh-i-nūr* Treated as he had been, his act was a crime, and base and mean Perhaps it may be set to the credit of the older Humāyūn that the record of his theft has survived 1553-4 and his then perusal and annotation of his father's Memons By that time he had suffered many painful consequences of his own acts, and may have concurred with his father's judgment on his younger self Bābar was extremely hurt by his unexpected conduct and reproached him severely There was enough now known of Humāyūn's character to awaken doubt of his fitness to rule, and to need all his father's great affection to veil and forgive From Dihlī he returned to Badakshān, and is next heard of in the autumn of 1528, when he announced the birth of his first born son, Al-amān Al-amān was the child of that Begā (*Hajī*) Begam of whom the histories all speak, when in 1589 she is captured by Shīr Shāh at Chausa

Together with the news of Al-amān's birth came that of a marriage of Kāmrān with a daughter of Sultān 'Alī Begchik Bābar sent congratulatory gifts to both sons in response, and he has included his covering letter to Humāyūn in his text It is frank, fault-finding, and affectionate It objects to the name given to the child, it urges action 'The world is his who exerts himself', it objects to Humāyūn's complaints of the remoteness of Badakhshān, and tells him that no bondage is like the bondage of kings, and that it ill becomes him to complain It attacks Humāyūn's spelling and composition, and ends this topic with words good to quote 'You certainly do not excel in letter-writing, and you fail chiefly because you have too great a desire to show off your acquirements For the future, write unaffectedly, clearly, and in plain

words, which will give less trouble to writer and reader' Some remarks about Kāmrān have a coming interest, Babar faintly praises him as a worthy and correct young man, and enjoins favour for him, without a hint of suspicion that it could ever be in Kāmrān's power to show favour to Humāyūn. Humāyūn also desired to make friends with Khwāja Kulfīn and with Sultan Wais of Kulib. He sailed with the Khwāja, who on Babar's death joined the worthy and correct Kāmrān. Humāyūn kept on better terms with Sultan Wais. *On his Mehal* and at a later date owed much to his daū, hūr, the inimitable Hāzārām (Khurāram), who stands up in history bold, capable, haughty, and altogether strongly outlined.

Something must now be set down about Babar's third adult son, who was a younger full brother of Kāmrān and is known in history by his sobriquet of Askari which indicates a camp as his birthplace. Neither his birth nor Kāmrān's is mentioned in the Memoirs, as we now have them,—an omission which other sources allow to be explained by their falling in one of the gaps of the book. Askari was born in 1516 (922H), and during a period of storm and of camp life. His name first occurs in the Memoirs as having presents sent to him after the battle of Pimpat, when he is classed with Hindūl, as suited their ages of nine and seven, and they received various gifts, and not, like their two seniors, sums of money. In 1528 he was in Multān, but there is no entry of an appointment, perhaps because it would fall in the gap which extends from April 2nd to September 18th. On the latter day he was received, in home fashion, by his father in his private apartments at Agra, and then, having spent till December 2nd with him, he was furnished with munitions of war for a campaign in the eastern districts. Special injunctions were given to the officers to consult with him as to the conduct of affairs. The interest of these details is their relation to the boy of twelve. Few years were needed in those days to support military command. Humāyūn had gone to Badakhshān at eleven, Babar had been a

fighting king at twelve Boy chiefs were common when fathers were so apt to die by violent means, so were baby figure-heads of armies such as that few-monthed Persian baby who (like an angel's semblance on an ancient battleship) led his father's army for Humāyūn's help in 1544

On December 12th other signs of dignity were bestowed on the boy 'Askārī' not only a jewelled dagger, a belt, and royal dress of honour, but the insignia of high command, the standard, horse-tail, and kettle drums, excellent horses, ten elephants, mules and camels, the equipage of a royal camp, and leave to hold a princely court and sit at the head of a hall of state The small boy's mind is clear to us about the horses, for where is the child of twelve whom they would not delight? But what was in it about the elephants? and how did he look when he inspected their bulky line?

He bade farewell to his father on the 21st,—the Emperor being in his bath, a statement which exhales the East,—and after this, though there are many details of his campaigning, nothing of living interest is set down in the Memours about him In the future he was Kāmīān's shadow, and displayed a loyalty to mother-blood which was natural under the difficulty of being loyal to Humāyūn, but which made him a Timūrid foe to his house, who initiated nothing and walked always in the bad path marked out for him by the 'worthy and correct' Kāmrān

Coming back from this excursion into the future, to the simple topic of Bābāi's presents to his children, there can be mentioned a set which is quite delightful in its careful choice and appropriateness It was sent to Kābul in 1528 for Hindāl, and consisted of a jewelled inkstand, a stool inlaid with mother-of-pearl, a short robe of Bābāi's own, and an alphabet What could be better for the royal schoolboy of ten?

In 1528 an order was issued which brought about an event of extreme importance to the ladies in Kābul,—namely, that they should migrate to Hindūstān There was delay in the execution of the royal command, and

having regard to the number of ladies, the difference of opinion as to the advisability of going at all, discussion as to the details of the journey, and also remembering that (as the facts about the migration come out in the Memoirs,) there would be many who thought their family interest might be better served by remaining in Kābul, it is not remarkable that there was delay in starting the cavalcade

The migration was amply dictated to many of the party by Bābar's wish to see his own people again, but it is clear that the enforced *leicc in masse* of the ladies was a result of considerations of policy and peace The city was full of women who, by birth or marriage, were attached to various branches of the Timūrids, and there was conflict of aims and palpable friction It may well be that Kāmrān's government provoked unrest, because he was the son of a mother of less birth than were very many of the resident begams of Kābul

The Emperor was put in full possession of the state of affairs by a letter from Khwāja Kīlān which reached him in camp on February 6th, 1528, and which was brought by a servant who, in addition to the written words, gave him all the news of Kābul by word of mouth Bābar replied to the khwāja on February 11th by that letter which those who know the time and writer rank amongst the truly interesting epistles of the world The tenor of the khwāja's own is clear from it, and in part reply the Emperor writes

'You take notice of the unsettled state of Kābul I have considered the matter very attentively and with the best of my judgment, and have made up my mind that in a country where there are seven or eight chiefs, nothing regular or settled is to be looked for I have therefore sent for my sisters and the ladies of my family into Hindūstān, and, having resolved on making Kābul and all the neighbouring countries and districts part of the imperial domain, I have written fully on the subject to Humāyūn and Kāmrān Immediately on receiving this letter you will, without loss of time, attend my sisters and the

ladies of my family as far as the Nil-āb (Indus), so that, whatever impediments there may be to their leaving Kābul, they must, at all events, start out within a week after this arrives, for as a detachment has left Hindūstān and is waiting for them, any delay will expose it to difficulty, and the country, too, will suffer'

Who were these seven or eight chiefs in Kābul? Not men! The fighting chiefs were almost all in India, even Mahdī had rejoined the army before the date of this letter. Bābar's word 'sisters' is a guiding light, and it does not altogether exclude the influence of the men who, though in Hindūstān, were in touch with Kābul and its friction and intrigues. First of sisters was Khānzāda, who had certainly a holding for her support, and who had influence of birth and personal, as having sacrificed herself in her earlier marriage to secure Bābar's safety. She was now the wife of a man, Mahdī Khwāja, who, if the story told of him by the author of the *Tabaqāt* is true even in gist, was such as to suggest him as a possible successor of Bābar to the powerful and sensible Khalīfa. There was, since her husband was with Bābar and all great ladies had been left in Kābul, Shahī-bānū, Khānzāda's half-sister, wife of Khalīfa's brother, Junaid *Bailās*, and mother of a son. There was also, it is probable, another of 'Umai Shaikh's daughters, Yādgār¹.

Besides Bābar's sisters *de facto*, there were others of courtesy. Such was Sulaimān's mother, whose anxieties for his future were, however, about to find happy end by his reinstatement in 1530 in his hereditary government of Badakhshān. There were the families of three men of Timūrid birth, grandsons of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqār,

¹ Of the two others who are the complement in girls of his family, it is safe to say that they were absent. Mīhr-bānū was the apparently contented wife of an Uzbek Sultān, and Ruqayya, who, like Mīhr bānū, had been spoil of battle and an Uzbek wife, was recently dead. Bābar says she died just when he was making the entries about her parentage at the beginning of the Memoirs. This can hardly have been before 1528, because an appointment mentioned on the same page is recorded on its occurrence as made in 1528.

all of whom were in India, and all of whom were men of high pretension. They were,—Muhammad Sultān Mirzā, the arch rebel of the future, Qasim Husain Sultān Mirzā, son of an I beg father and Muhammad Zamān Mirzā, son of Husain's son, Bidiūz Zamān. There were in Kabul the people of Yaqub nisir also Babar's half nephew. These instances will suffice to show the reality of the elements of unrest which conflicting family interests and jealousies might and did foment in Kabul—they do not include the many others furnished by Babur's personal circle and by his numerous and influential aunts.

Two Timurid ladies, Iakhr Jahan and Khadija, both paternal aunts of the Emperor, had gone to Hindustan so early as November, 1527. With whom they went or why they went is not recorded. The first was the wife of a Tirmizi sivid member of a religious family with which royal alliance was frequent, and she would find relations of her husband in the army. The second, Khadija, has no man mentioned as her husband, an omission by Babur and Gulbadan which surprises, and which the chance word of another writer may easily fill up. Perhaps these aunts joined their nephew in response to his invitation of April, 1526, that kinsfolk and friends would come and see prosperity with him. They brought their children, and were met outside the city by Babur on November 23rd, and by him conducted in a lucky hour to their assigned palace¹ in Agra.

Iakhr Jahan and Khadija stayed eleven months and were bidden good bye before their return journey to Kabul on September 20th, 1528. After all, Khadija did not go, having affairs of her own to detain her, and this delay allowed the Emperor to pay her another of the Friday calls which he habitually made, during the time of his

¹ Readers who are interested in the Turki and Persian texts of the Memoirs, will like to have attention drawn to the fact of there being a record of this episode in one of the fragments attached to Kehr's MS., and that this varies in detail from his text and from the Persian source of the Memoirs.

occupation of Hindūstān, on his elder kinswomen On the 17th three sisters of Fakhr-jahān and Khadīja arrived in the suburbs and were welcomed From all these Bābar could hear the news and gossip of Kābul, and thus add to the impressions which led to his order for the begams to join him in India

Apiopos of the aunts of frequent mention, it may be said that both Bābar and Haidar convey the opinion that deference to elder women was a permanent trait of their age and set Comings and goings of aunts are set down, houses and incomes provided, advice is sought, troubles are carried to them for sympathy, they are ambassadors of peace, then nephews vie with one another as to who shall entertain them, in short, both the *Tūzūh* and the *Tārīkh* indicate distinct deference to women of an elder generation

A good deal about the exodus of the ladies can be gleaned from Bābar and from our princess, who now comes on the scene in her small person of five or six The order for it was given at latest in 1528, this is clear from the royal letter to the khwāja and from the fact that Māham started in January, 1529 Bābar heard on March 22nd that all had really left Kābul, which news, taken with the arrival of the main cavalcade three months after her, suggests that Māham started first and travelled quickly, as being of a small company, and that the rest set off in detachments, as they and their transport were ready The whole party would get off between January 21st and the end of February, this can be surmised, because the letter of March 22nd would be about a month in reaching Bābar Most of the journey would be made by horse-litter, and some perhaps by palkī with bearers Men frequently dropped down the Kābul River on rafts, being thus able to do in twelve hours what ten marches covered, but one cannot suppose the ladies would make this adventurous journey, which was attended by risk even when people did not fall off the raft after potations, as some of Bābar's companions had done Probably the road taken was that by But-khāk (Dust of Idols) and Jagdalik, and by Jalālābād

and the Khalbar , but there is no certainty, because there is no information

Gul-badan travelled with Māham in advance of her sisters, and thus had experiences all her own and a reception by her father unalloyed by numbers Her liveliness would while away the tedium of the five months' travel, and help to distract Māham's sad thoughts from the loss of Fāruq, her youngest born Unfortunately, she sets down nothing about the journey until near its end Letters between the Emperor and the travellers were frequent One of the couriers, named Shīrak (Little Lion), who was despatched by him on March 5th, carried not only letters to Māham, but was entrusted with a copy of the Memours which had been made to send to Samarcand¹

On April 1st, and at Ghāzīpūr, Bābar heard that the ladies had been met at the Indus on February 19th by their military escort under his master-of-horse, and by this amīr convoyed to the Chanāb This might fitly be told of Māham's party, for there are other records of covering the distance to the Indus in about a month

On the 22nd a servant of Māham brought letters to Arrah from her whom he had left at the Gāiden of Purity (*Bāgh-i-safā*), near Pind-dādan Khān, and this is the last such entry Māham reached Agra on June 27th, and Bābar met her outside the city at midnight

Gul-badan gives amusing particulars of her own arrival, all of which she shall be left to tell She followed Māham into Āgra on the 28th, not having been allowed to travel with her through the previous night Then she saw her father Of him she can have kept only a dim memory, and it is likely enough she would stand in some awe of him and his deeds, but no word he has written suggests that a

¹ This is the earliest recorded copying of the Türkī text This Samarcand MS and its descendants (if any) may have been written up subsequently, but the points of this early transmission to Central Asia of a copy and the variations of the Russian texts from those found in India, are worth consideration There is an unexplored MS in Bukhārā of high reputation

child needed to fear him, and she soon experienced 'happiness such that greater could not be imagined' Happy child! and happy father, too! who recovered such a clever and attractive little daughter It is not only her book that lets us know she had a lively mind, but the fact of its composition at an age when wits are apt to be rusted by domestic peace Only a light that was strong in childhood would have burned so long to guide her unaccustomed pen after half a century of life, and only a youth of happy thoughts and quick perceptions have buoyed her, still gay and vivacious, across the woes and troubles of Humāyūn's time

There were pleasant days after the coming to Āgra, when Bābāi took Māham, and the child also, to see his works at Dholpūr and Sīkī. He had always been a builder and a lover of a view, a maker of gardens and planter of trees Much of the scenery of his new location displeased him, he thought the neighbourhood of Āgra 'ugly and detestable' and 'repulsive and disgusting,' words which do not now link well with that Āgra which he and his line have made the goal of the pilgrimage of beauty It is difficult to go back in fancy to the city without a Tāj, with no Sīkundīa near and with Sīkī uncrowned

Dholpūr and Sīkī had much to show of work done by the orders of the Emperor,—'my royal father,' as Gulbadan generally calls him, using the home word *bābā* invariably At Sīkī, amongst other buildings, was that in which she says he used to sit and write his book, i.e., the *Tūzuk*. There, too, the great battle which had been fought in 1527 will not have been ignored to ears so sympathetic as Māham's Perhaps here the little girl first learnt dimly what it was to be a Ghāzī, and to fight on the side of Heaven She says that when these excursions had been made, and three months after her own arrival had sped by, the begams, with Khānzāda as their chief, came within meeting distance of the capital, and that the Emperor went out to welcome them There is nothing of this in the Memoirs, which are silent after the arrival

of Māham as to the doings of the royal ladies The reunion was soon to be clouded by anxieties and loss

A brief return in the story of Humāyūn must be made here In the summer of 1529 he heard in Badakhshān of his father's failing health, and, without asking leave, set off for India He passed through Kābul, and there, to Kāmrān's surprise, met him, who had just come up from Ghaznī The two conferred, and persuaded the ten-years-old Hindāl, who was under orders for Āgra, to take up the government of Badakhshān Humāyūn then continued his march, and arrived in Āgra without announcement to his father

He came to the presence just when, by a coincidence which Māham may have helped to bring about, his parents were talking of him It would be natural for the mother, who cannot have been ignorant of her son's coming, to stir gentle thoughts of him and to warm his father's heart towards him before they met, and by this to break the shock of the unpermitted absence from duty

Bābar was greatly angered by the desertion, which in truth placed Badakhshān in difficulty by withdrawing both troops and control Its consequences were important, and caused him profound regret To stand fast across the mountains and to push out the royal holdings beyond the Oxus from the vantage-ground of Badakhshān was a cherished dream, and one which he had taken steps through both Humāyūn and Kāmrān to realize He wished Humāyūn to return to his post, but the latter, while saying he must go if ordered, was not willing to leave his people again Bābar then asked Khalifa to go, but this request was evaded, and there is much to arouse surmise that Khalifa saw in it the act of someone who wished him absent from the scene of crisis now foreseen as near In his objection to leave Āgra, affection for his old master would be a natural factor, another was his own supreme influence, the sequel of his character and of Bābar's recent failure in health, and springing from his power was, perhaps the dominant factor of his objection to leave,—a

disposition to supplant Humāyūn in the succession by a ruler of less doubtful character

The fate of Badakhshān was decided by its bestowal on its hereditary chief, Sulaimān Mīzā, *Mīzān-shāhī*, now a boy of sixteen, while Humāyūn's youthful *locum tenens* was ordered to come to India. Humāyūn betook himself to the idle enjoyments of his *jāgū* of Sambhal, and was there, in a few months, attacked by illness which threatened life and which led to the remarkable episode of Bābāi's self-sacrifice to save him. The narrative of this stands in all the histories and need not be repeated, but for the sake of making our princess' details clear, it is as well to state what was the rite performed by Bābāi.

There was and is in the East belief that if offering be made of the thing most precious to the suppliant, and if the offering be accepted, Heaven will give the life of a sick man in exchange. The rite observed is simple first prayer of intercession is made, then the suppliant walks three times round the sick man's bed. Of Bābāi's sincerity there is no doubt, in mind and heart he gave himself, he felt conviction that, after the circuits, he had borne away the illness. Humāyūn was restored and Bābar died,—a return from the gate of death and an entry there which might have occurred without Bābāi's rite, but none the less was the self-sacrifice complete because he believed in its efficacy and was willing to die.

His health worsened rapidly after this and he made ready to go. Marriages were arranged for Gul-rang and Gul-chihra, the amirs were addressed, Humāyūn was counselled and named to the succession. Bābāi died on December 26th, 1530. 'Black fell the day,' says his daughter, 'we passed that ill-fated day each in a hidden corner.'

The question of Khalifa's wish to supersede Humāyūn is of great interest. It is written of by Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad, in the *Tabaqāt*, who had the story he retails from his father, Muqīm, an old retainer of the Court. Abū'l-fazl repeats the main statement, which is that Khalifa had had

thoughts of superseding Humāyūn by Muhammad Mahdī Khwāja, the husband of Khānzāda Begam¹

A few of the many points involved in Nizāmu-d-dīn's story find fitting entry here. Bābāi must have been long conscious of the fact that he was not so strong as before he faced the Indian climate, he did not send for Humāyūn, he wished him to leave when he came unasked, he had 'Askarī in the full dignity of a commander near him, as he lay dying, he was fretfully anxious for Hindal's coming, he and Khalifa were friends of many years' testing, both knew the faults of Humāyūn, if Khalifa had planned to set the latter aside, it is likely that the thought was not altogether absent from the mind of Babāi, it is not credible that Khalifa should have regarded a supersession as practicable, if he had no acquaintance with the Emperor's doubts as to Humāyūn, and without knowing that these were shared by others than his master and himself, for the nomination would be made by Bābar and to his chiefs.

Muhammad Mahdī Khwaja is one of those men about whose birth and descent particulars are looked for with the sure hope of success in the search. Yet nothing is said on the topic by Bābar or by Gul-badan. When he first appears on the scene (in the Persian version, and presumably also in the Elphinstone text), he is not introduced, as it is customary for Bābar to introduce, with some few words indicating family. This omission may be a result of forgetfulness bred of familiarity, or it may be, and most probably is, that he himself first met Muhammad Mahdī at a date which falls in one of the gaps of his book².

Nizāmu-d-dīn's statements must have some corn of truth, and they imply that by birth, as well as by marriage and

¹ Neither of the sources thus describes Mahdī, but a somewhat full consideration of the several Mahdīs of the time allows no other than the husband of Khānzāda to be understood by the name Mahdī Khwāja of the two sources. Cf Appendix, s n Muhammad Mahdī

² This omission, and perhaps some others, are straws pointing to the existence, at some time, of material which would fill the gaps

military rank, Mahdī was a man who, without outrage, might be raised still higher. There are hints which make it seem probable that he was a Tirmizi sayyid and the son of a Timurid mother. The suggestion of Tirmizi parentage is supported by the burial of Abū'l-ma'ālī *Tirmizi* in the place of interment of Mahdī and Khānzāda¹.

It has suggested itself to me as possible that Khalifa's plan of superseding Humāyūn was meant to apply only to Hindūstān, or at least to a part of Bābar's dominions. Abū-sa'īd had partitioned his lands amongst his sons, provinces so varied as Bābar's seem to demand division even more than his grandfather's had done. We look back to Bābar across Akbar's Indian Empire, and may not give sufficient weight to the fact that Dihlī and Āgra were not the centre or the desired heart of Bābar's. He wanted Farghāna and Samarcand and much more beyond the Oxus, and he had taken decisive steps towards securing his object through both his elder sons, and had given them charge and work of extension in those countries. Kābul was the true centre of his desired empire, and to force the Uzbegs back in widening circle was his persistent wish.

If Mahdī or any other competent man had ruled in Dihlī, by whatever tenure, this would not necessarily have

¹ It is singular that both Khalifa and Mahdī disappear from prominent place with the death of Bābar. From Gulbadan it is known that the latter was living at the time of Hindūl's marriage with his sister Sultānam in 1537, because she names his gifts to the bridegroom. A good deal of search has failed to disclose other particulars of action or death of either man after Humāyūn's accession. Khalifa's brother, Junaid (like Mahdī, a brother-in-law of Bābar), fought faithfully for Humāyūn till his recorded death. Khalifa was older than Junaid, and the impression given by the early part of the Memoirs is that he was older than Bābar. The difficulty of the obvious interpretation of the silence about Khalifa's later life is, that he withdrew support from Mahdī's promotion, and it is distinctly said of Humāyūn by Badayuni that he was made emperor by the concurrence of Khalifa. So there would be no ground for a conspiracy of courtly silence about him. He was probably dead before the exile of the Timurids from India in 1510, because his wife Sultānam was with the royal household, and made her pilgrimage shortly after the exodus to Sind.

ruined Humāyūn, or have taken from him the lands most coveted by Bābar! All Bābar's plans and orders were such as to keep Humāyūn beyond the Hindū-kush, and to take him across the Oxus. The dislike of the royal army to Hindūstān was a large factor in the question of centralizing government there, and so too would be the temptations to indolence afforded by its climate and customs, to which it was easy to foresee from Humāyūn's life in Sambhal that he would readily succumb.

Kābul was made an imperial domain by Bābar's written command to both elder sons, and his own words leave one in doubt as to his further intentions about it. To whom Hindūstān would have been given if Humāyūn had obeyed orders and had held fast in Badakhshān, there is nothing to show, but weight is due to the gist of the story of the supersession. Kāmrān declared that Kābul was given to his mother Gul rukh, and Humāyūn gave it in fief to Kāmrān at his accession. There is mist over the scene from which only the accomplished facts emerge. Humāyūn came to India, he was Māham's son, she was there, Khalifa let Mahdi fall, Humāyūn's personal claim reasserted itself over Bābar's angel, and he became Emperor of Hindūstān and all the imperial domains.

Child though Gul-badan was at her father's death, she must have been impressed by the events that preceded it. Alwar's death, her own accident at Sīkri, her father's premonitions and dervish-moods, Humāyūn's sudden arrival and the anger it caused, his illness and the dread for his life, her father's awe-inspiring rite and its bewildering success, her sisters' marriages, which could not be joyful, the haunting suspicion of poison, the end and the blank,—all too much for so short a time in strange scenes and in a disabling climate.

Following the death came the forty days of mourning, and of good works and gifts at the tomb in the Garden of Rest at Āgra. Sīkri furnished a part of the endowment for its readers and reciters, and Māham sent them food twice daily from her own estate. The tomb was put under

the guardianship of a man whom our begam calls Khwāja Muhammad 'Alī 'asas (night-guard), and who may be he that 'never killed a sparrow,' and may be Māham's brother If so, he will be heard of again under other and widely different circumstances in 1547 As is well known, Bābar's body was conveyed to Kābul, and there laid to rest in the spot chosen by himself

SECTION II —UNDER HUMĀYŪN

In Bābar's history the man holds the interest and lifts the eyes over his shortcomings to his excellence No character demanding admiration attracts interest to Humāyūn, but yet his story is one which it needs a master-hand to unfold A Tolstoi could depict his faults and merits, his qualities and defects rolled a tide of retribution over him and those bound to him as surely and visibly as it does over Anna Karenine and her associates From the historic standpoint, Mr Erskine has told the tale in a way to hold his readers, and it befits this humble introduction to build up only such framework as will support details, some of which concern the ladies of the time, and others of which may interest readers who are not Orientalists

In order to realize how fully the fate of the ladies was involved in that of the Emperor, it must be remembered that his occupation of Hindūstān was unrooted, military and the sport of war When we in Britain have to lament a reverse of arms, we do it in safe homes and we brace ourselves to what will come next, in the familiar surroundings of the daily tradesman, the usual postman, and the trivial comforts of the hearth Even Colonials had a refuge under the flag at measurable distance from their outraged homes in 1899-1900 But when the Timūrids were defeated in 1539-40, and driven from Āgra and Dihlī and Lāhōrī, there was no refuge open to all Their head, Humāyūn, had none, a brother took his last Like the Israelites, he and his followers then wandered in deserts and hungered and thirsted, dwelt in strange lands,

pursued and attacked, exiled and humiliated. The course of events was less historic than biographical was individual and not national. There were no nations behind Bībar and Humīrūn there were only ruling families who came and went as they could or could not get the upper hand of other houses and there was the dumb mass whom the earth nourished and labour of whom fed in luxury of life and strength of alien arms wherever dynasty had just struck hardest

home conference about it, and about the murder in his name, but not by his act, of Humāyūn's favourite, Shaikh Bahlūl Gul-badan, like the good sister she was, makes excuses for her brother, and those who have not her bias of affection, can add others and stronger Hindāl was nineteen, a good and successful young general, he was supported by men of rank and age, some of whom had come from Gauī, and had seen Humāyūn's army perishing in that sink of fever and corruption, and Humāyūn buried within its walls There was no ruler in Hindūstān, Shīr Shāh was between Humāyūn and the capital The 'mīzās' were lifting up their heads again, and a chief was needed Hindāl was perhaps always the best of Bābar's sons in character, and certainly so when Humāyūn had become the changeling of opium He had the Friday prayer (*khutba*) read in his own name, and on his behalf, Nūru-d-dīn Muhammad, a son-in-law of Bābar and grandson of Sultān Husain Bāyqā, murdered Shaikh Bahlūl The motive of the crime appears to have been desire to place the death as an impassable barrier between the royal brothers

The news of Hindāl's rebellion stirred Humāyūn to move from Gauī His march to Āgra was broken off tragically by the rout at Chausa, where he lost 8,000 of his best Tūrkī troops by sword or river Here Ma'sūma was widowed, and here a terrible blank was made in the royal household by the loss of several women Bega's (Hājī Begam) capture is known to all the histories, and so, too, is her return to Humayun Shīr Shāh promised safety to all women found in the camp, and there is no reason to doubt that he did his best for them But there had been fighting round their tents before his guards arrived, and some of Humāyūn's amīrs had perished in trying to defend them It came about that there were losses of women and of children as to whose fate no word was ever heard again Amongst them was 'Āyisha Bāyqā, the wife of Qāsim-Husain Sultān Mirzā The next name in our begam's list takes us far back It is that of Bachaka, a head-woman servant (*khalifa*), and one such and so

named had escaped from Samarcand with Bābar's mother in 1501. The one lost at Chānsa had been a servant in Babar's household, and may have been she of the memorable siege. Next are named two children, a foster child and Begā's Aqīqa of six years old. Two of Humāyūn's wives of low degree also disappeared.

When Humāyūn had been rescued from the river by a lowly water-carrier, he made way to Āgra, and there had a conversation with Gul-badan about the loss of 'Aqīqa. This princess was then seventeen years old, and a comment of his, which she sets down, lets it be known that she is now a married woman. Humāyūn told her he did not recognise her at first, because when he went away with the army (1537) she wore the *tāq*, and now wears the *lachal*. The *tāq* is a cap, and the *lachal*,—a wife's coiffure—is a kerchief folded crossways, tied under the chin by two corners, and capable of much more elaboration and ornament than this simple description would lead one to suppose. This is Gul-badan's nearest approach to informing her readers of her marriage, and she never mentions her husband as such. He was her second cousin, Khizr Khwaja Khan, *Chaghatai Muqhal*, and of the line of the Great Khans. His father was Amīn Khwaja, and his mother a cousin of Haidai Mirza *Dughlat*. One ancestor was that Yūnas whose fate as a chief of nomads was in such entertaining contrast to his taste as a lover of cities and books. Khizr had many other noteworthy kinsfolk, but to tell of them would lead too far afield. It is useful, however, to say that Gul-rang and Gul-chihia had married two of his uncles, and that his brother Yāsim (Hasin or Ais) daulat, the Fair Sultan, became the husband of Kāmran's Habiba. He had two other brothers in India, namely, Mahdi and Maśud. Their father and one at least of them came from Kāshghar to Āgra just after the death of Bābar.

Shortly after this interview Humāyūn took the field against Shīr Shāh, and Kāmran, deserting his post, left Āgra and led off his 12,000 troopers towards Lāhōr. Under

his escort went an immense convoy of women and helpless people, and he wished to take Gul-badan also. She was extremely unwilling to go and only partially resigned herself when she saw that it was Humāyūn's will. She bewailed herself as parting from those with whom she had grown up, and no uninitiated reader could guess that she was going with her father's son. She was a clever and attractive girl whose society was welcome to all her brothers, but in Kāmīān's wish to take her now there is something more. It is possible that he who liked her, thought of her safety, it is probable that, as he had attached two of her husband's brothers, Yasin-daulat and Mahdī, and perhaps the third, Mas'ud, he desired to have Khizr too. Gul-badan's departure from the home circle was perhaps her first adventure into the foreign world as a married woman. By going when she did and under the escort of Kāmīān's strong force, she was spared a terrible journey which her mother and the rest of the royal party made under care of Hindāl, with foes in front and behind, and at great peril.

There now followed that amazing battle at Kanauj, in which 40,000 men in armour fled, without a gun fired, before 10,000. Here again, as at Chausa, the deaths in the river were appalling, and here again the Emperor was saved by a lowly man. Again the remnant made its way to Āgra, but, says Haider, 'we made no tarry, broken and dispirited, in a state heart-rending to tell, we went on to Lāhōr.' Their road took them to Sikri, of which the memories and witness to Bābar's genius for living must have rubbed salt into the wounds of their spirit. Many ladies had remained in Āgra, and Humāyūn spoke to Hindāl of the difficulty of getting them safe to Lāhōr, and confessed that he had often regretted not killing 'Aqīqa with his own hand. Hindāl combated the suggestion, born of defeat, that a mother and sisters should be killed, and himself fought his way through country folk and Afghāns, and convoyed them safe to Lāhōr.

Here was a mighty gathering of Timūrids and their

following and five months slipped by in uncertain counsels and fruitless talk. The four brothers met often to discuss plans, and it seems that the emptiness of this in practical result lay in what was in the mind of Kāmran and made him object to every course proposed. He wished to make terms for himself with the daily approaching victor, and to keep Lāhor and the Panjab, but if this could not be, he meant to hold fast to Kibul and keep Humayun out of it. The fief of Kibul had been granted to him by Humayun. Humayun therefore could resume it. That he would now do so was Kamran's expectation, so, when Humayun proposed to go to Bidakhshān, Kamran would not hear of it, because the road thither lay through Kabul, and once in that beloved city, it was highly improbable that Humayun would move further.

On October 30th, 1540, something decisive had to be done, for Sher Shah had crossed the Biah and might appear at any hour. 'It was like the Day of Resurrection,' says our princeps, the confusion was extreme, and, like the simile, impossible for us to realize. It has been said that 200,000 souls left Lāhor in flight on that day, an overtax of ill resources of transport.

Happily for the fugitives, the Ravi was fordable, but the Chanab required boats and the Jehlam was in flood. Many episodes unfolded themselves in the *duab* of the Ravi and Chanab. Haidar Mirza took his departure for Kashmir, hoping to secure in it a royal retreat, Hindal and Yudgar-nāsir deserted and went south for Multan, Humayun was urged to put further mischiefs out of Kamran's power by his death, he refused,—a refusal which would be upheld in the *haram*, ever faithful to the injunctions of Bibai, and knowing these better than the real risks caused by Kamran's disloyalty. Penetrating everything was the irritation aroused by Kamran's opposition to the royal march for Kibul,—irritation which diffused itself and barely missed a sequel of bloodshed.

The depression and gloom of the men who were the responsible leaders of the fugitive mob must have been

deep and painful, but what was in the minds of their dependents,—the ordinary troopers, the helpless women, the comfortless children, and the camp-followers?

There were many striking scenes in the lives of Babar and Humāyūn, but none more dramatic than that in which the latter's flight through the Panjāb ended. A little west of the Thelam, at Khushāb, the road runs through a ravine of an outlying spur of the Salt Range. Beyond this it forks, north-west for Kābul and south-west for Sind. Kāmrān asserted his intention to enter the defile first, perhaps with the object of closing the Kābul road. Humāyūn insisted on his right to take precedence, and blows threatened between their followers. Mediation was made by Abū'l-baqā, the man who had led Bībar to offer himself for his son in 1530. He directed Humāyūn's attention to the superior force of Kāmrān, and he told Kāmrān that it was the right of Humāyūn to take precedence. In the end Humāyūn marched first and took the southern road. At the fork of the ways each commander and many a man must have made or confirmed his choice between the brothers. And so the mighty caravan split itself, and followed Kāmrān and 'Aṣkārī or Humayun.

With the Kabul section many women went to the safer asylum. They had no choice to make where the roads parted, but those of them who saw their litters turn southwards and themselves carried by a strange road, of which they knew that it took them from the old home in Kābul, must have had some bitter feelings about their destiny. I believe Gul-badan went with Kamran. She does not say so, but it comes out with tolerable clearness incidentally. Her mother, Dil aur, had gone with Hindal to Multan, and with her was Hāmidah-bani, Akbar's mother to be. Khānsāda seems to have gone with Humāyūn, for her next mentions her later as an ambassador from him in Sind to Qandahar. No other writer speaks of this embassy, I think, but most tell of her other, made later from Kābul to Qandahar in the service of peace between Kāmrān and

Humāyūn, after the latter had returned from his Persian exile (1545)

Khīzī is not mentioned as with Humāyūn in the desert wanderings, but he was in Qandahār with 'Askari in 1545. On the occasion of her reunion with Humāyūn in Kābul, in 1545, Gul-badan says that there had been a 'toil and moil of separation' lasting five years. The lustium points to a farewell said at the Jhelam. One thing makes for her having gone with the royal party, and this is her lively account of what befell it, but she is equally lively about Persia, where she certainly did not go. She had excellent opportunity of hearing what went on in Sind because she met her mother again in 1548, after she had come to Kābul from Qandahār. She also met Hamida in 1545, and could hear from her not only about her wedding, concerning which she has such an excellent passage, but also about her visit to Persia. There was ample and easy opportunity for the two old companions to talk over the past and to refresh their memories when the book was being written in and after 1587 and when they were comfortably installed as the beloved and respected 'Beneficent Ladies' of Akbar. Moreover, Gul-badan has a note of acknowledgment to Khwāja Kisik for help derived from his writings, as to the early part of the royal wanderings. There is therefore nothing to contradict the probability that she continued under Kāmrān's protection from 1540, the date of her unwilling departure from Āgra, till 1545, when Humāyūn took Kābul.

During the lustium in which she did not see Humāyūn, his adventures were too many and too remarkable for abbreviation in these pages. Mr. Erskine has told them with evident enjoyment, and Gul-badan supplements his narrative with some material he did not use, it may be interjected here that he had no knowledge of her book. For most of the period of the exile in Sind and Persia, Hamida was a good authority, and more than once Gul-badan has prefaced a statement with 'Hamida-bānū Begam says'. She was one in the cruel desert march to Umarkot, it will have been from her that the princess heard that

Akbar's birthplace was a beautiful spot where food was very cheap, she was one of the little band which fled from Quetta, she shared the qualified hospitality of the Persian king, and, it should be said, reproduced only a sense of good treatment by him, and she came back to Qandahār with his auxiliary army

In Kābul Gul-badan did not want for old friends and kinswomen. She had her own home occupations and her children to look after, of these, though she names one only, Sa'ādat-yān, she may have had several, but there is no definite statement as to which of Khizr's children were also hers. She was not unkindly treated by Kāmiān, as were the other royal ladies whom he turned out of their usual homes and exploited in purse. Indeed, he wished to regard her as one of his own family and to distinguish between her and her mother, but of this she would not hear.

In 1543 she had again the society of Hindāl who, after losing Qandahār to Kāmiān, came as a prisoner upon parole to Kābul and his mother's house. The movements of Humāyūn were made known from Sind to Kābul with speed and completeness, and the news was acted on to Humāyūn's great detriment. There were domestic reasons why Shāh Husain Aīghūn should not be well disposed to Humāyūn, besides the substantial one of the latter's entry and long occupation of his country. Of the more intimate causes of ill-will one was inherited, Bābai had dispossessed the Arghūns from both Kābul and Qandahār, and not only so, but had given in marriage to his foster-brother Qāsim an Arghūn girl, Māh-chūchak, daughter of Muqīm Mīrzā. This was a great offence, because it was a misalliance in Aīghūn eyes and because it was enforced and the bride was spoil of battle. The story of her anger and of her rebellion at her fate is delightfully told by Mr Erskine, and to his pages readers may be safely referred for the sequel of my brief allusion to it.

When Qāsim lūla died, Māh-chūchak married her cousin, Shāh Husain, and she was with him during Humāyūn's miserable stay in Sind.

Another cause of friction lay in the presence of a former wife of Husain with Humayūn's household. In 1521 Husain had allied himself with Khalifa's family by marrying his daughter Gul-barg. As the fact adds to the domestic complication, it may be mentioned that at the same time Husain's stepdaughter, Nahid, the child of Qisim and Mih chinchak, married Khalifa's son, Muhibb 'ah. Husain and Gul-barg (Rose leaf) did not get on well, and she left him after what Mir Ma sum calls two years of wedded life. She then, says the same author, went to India with Jannat ashayāni (Humayun) 'previous to the *ratn*' This last word is frequently used of the rout at Chausa in 1539, but the next nearest catastrophe to which it would apply after 1521 is the death of Babar, because Gul-barg is named by Gul-bidan in Humayun's household shortly after his accession. She was with him in Sind in 1511 onwards, and so, too, was Sultānam,¹ who was perhaps her mother, and both were unlikely to make the best of Shah Husain to Humayūn.

In 1515 Kabul heard that Humayun was on his way back from Persia with the Shah's army behind him. A first result of this was to bring the little Akbar within reach of Khānzāda and to her charge. All the histories tell of his winter journey from Qandahar taken with Balkhshī-bānū, the one being under three and the other about four. Their coming adds a touch of tenderness to the historic Khānzāda, who paces through the histories sad and wise and trusted. She kissed the baby feet and hands of Akbar, and declared they were the very hands and feet of Babar, and that he was like him altogether. Her first marriage with Shaibānī had been made to save Babar from captivity or death. She was divorced because suspected of leaning to his side when his interests conflicted with her husband's, and she had been restored to him (1511) when she was about thirty-

¹ The presence of Sultānam here, and a royal permission allowed to her to go to Makka and take her daughter also, gives the impression that Khalifa is dead.

three years old¹ To the reader's fancy she wears a mourning garb, she is mentioned with deference, and is a dignified figure in the turmoil of her day Her third marriage,—she was doubly widowed at Merv,—takes an impersonal colour, as an alliance which her age, story and loss of her only son make seem rather one contracted to confer honour and afford her a safe home, than on any ground of personal affection She bore Mahdī no child, she adopted his sister Sultānam at the age of two, and reared her to become the wife of Hindāl

By March 21st Humāyūn was besieging Qandahār, and he then sent an envoy to Kābul, who would be a welcome guest as teller of the events since Humāyūn had left Quetta in 1543 This was Bairām Khān Bahārlū, and with him went Bāyazīd bīyat Bairām saw Akbar, and could take back to Hamīda news of his welfare, and also a number of princes who were kept in Kābul under Kāmiān's eye These were Hindāl, Yādgār-nāsīr, some of the 'mīzās,' Sulaimān, Haīam and Ibrāhīm

Bairām spent six weeks waiting till Kāmiān should choose his course now that he knew his brother was the stronger, and when he left the city, he was accompanied by Khānzāda, charged to mollify Humāyūn and smooth the way for 'Ashkārī when the latter should submit She went into Qandahār, but her presence did not bring about the immediate surrender, and the weary siege carried on its burden of suffering Many of the amīrs of the defence began to slip away, the two Khīrs, Hazāra and Chaghatāi, dropped themselves over the wall The first got away to the mountains with adventures which fit a Highland setting, the second sought Humāyūn and obtained forgiveness

Qandahār was surrendered on September 31st, and 'Ashkārī and his amīrs came out with swords hung round their

¹ The date of her return by Shīh Isma'il to Bābar in 1511 falls in one of the long gaps (eleven years) of the Memoirs This covers also, it is probable, Bābar's first association with Mahdī and the latter's marriage with Khānzāda

executioner was found, and the mīrzā 'was relieved of the pains of existence'

Humāyūn took 'Askarī with him as a precautionary measure. Of the ladies, Māh-chūchak went, and in attendance, Bibi Fātīma, the chief armed woman of his haram and mother of Zuhra, whom Hamīda's brother was to marry and murder. Near Khishm Humāyūn fell alarmingly ill and lay unconscious for four days. He had nurses at hand whose excellence is attested by the annals, and it adds life to the scene to know that the long watch over the unconscious man was broken by his opening his eyes just when Māh-chūchak was dropping pomegranate-juice into his mouth. He recovered, but it was a perilous time for him and his supremacy, and had a bad sequel.

News of the illness went to Sind, and Kāmrān, reinforced by his father-in-law, Husain, hurried up and seized Kābul. Winter was at its depth on the passes, and the amīrs with the royal force were anxious to get back to protect their families. They had premonitions that he would take the city again, and many slipped away in small parties and went to Kābul, where they found all their anticipations and dread justified. It does not seem right to stigmatize their leaving Humāyūn as traitorous, they had their own people to save, and this might be done by slight show of submission to Kāmrān. No one can consider Humāyūn a man who had claim to fidelity when the lives and honour of wives and children were in the balance. Indeed, to have left Kābul under the charge of Muhammad 'Alī was to court disaster, and to make reasonable a good deal of independence of action in those whose unarmed people he could not protect.

Every fear of the amīrs was justified. On his northward march Kāmrān passed through Ghaznī, where Zahid Beg was governor. He it was who when offered a Bengal appointment in 1538, had asked Humāyūn if he could not find another place to kill him in. He had not waited for a reply, but had left Bengal, and helped Hindāl to rebel in Āgra. Kāmrān now answered his question in Ghaznī, and after this murder hurried off towards Kābul. 'It was

morning, and the Kābulis were off their guard, and grass-cutters and water-carriers were going in and out as usual Mirzā Kāmrān went in with all these common people. So speaks the princess. The gentle-hearted governor was at the *hamām*, and was brought before Kāmrān, without time given to dress, and there and then sabred. The list of other cruelties and murders is too terrible reading for these pages, and the ensuing siege was full of barbarous acts. Humāyūn crossed the passes as soon as it was practicable, and sat down to take the city. When Kāmrān saw at length that he could not hold it, he escaped through a hole fashioned in the wall, got through the trenches and away to the mountains. Some say Hindāl let him pass the royal lines, others that Hājī Muhammad Khān *kūka* overtook him later (so destitute that he was being carried by a man), and that Kāmrān appealed to their milk-brotherhood and was allowed to go free. He then joined his hereditary foes, the Uzbegs.

¶ In 1548 Humāyūn entered upon a campaign in Badakhshān which yielded interesting personal matters, such as this rivulet of the great stream of affairs can convey. He left Kābul on June 12th, and Hamīda bore him company with Akbar as far as Gul bihār. As governor this time a soldier, and a man enraged against Kāmrān, was left in charge of Kābul. The campaign culminated in the capture of Tāliqān, which was made over on August 17th by Kāmrān, who was allowed to go to the refuge of all whose presence was undesired at home, Makka. Piety had no part in Kāmrān's intention to betake himself to the holy city, and when he had heard, with incredulous ears, that Humāyūn was meting out mercy without justice to the revolted amīrs he had captured, he took heart and himself asked forgiveness. It is almost incredible, and would be quite so if one did not know Humāyūn, that he was received with kettle drums, trumpets, tears and pardon. Certainly Humāyūn never deprived himself of the luxury of tears and the loose rein on his feelings. So wonderful was the following scene that Mr. Erskine's words shall tell

it ‘ When Kāmīān approached the Emperor, who was sitting in state in the pavilion of public audience, he took a whip from the girdle of Mu’nim Khān, who stood by, and passing it round his neck, presented himself as a criminal “ Alas, alas ! ” exclaimed the Emperor, “ there is no need of this, throw it away ” The mīrzā made three obeisances, according to the usual etiquette of the Court, after which the Emperor gave him the formal embrace and commanded him to be seated Kāmīān began to make excuses for his past conduct and to express his regret “ What is past is past,” said the Emperor “ Thus far we have conformed to ceremony, let us now meet as brothers ” They then rose and clasped each other to their breasts in the most affectionate manner, and both burst into tears, sobbing aloud, so as to affect all present Humāyūn, on resuming his seat, desired his brother to sit next to him on the left, the place of honour, adding kindly in Tūrkī, the language of the family, “ Sit close to me ” A cup of sherbet was brought, of which the Emperor, having drunk one half, handed it to his brother, who drank the other A grand entertainment followed, at which the four brothers (also Sulaimān), who now met for the first time after a long separation, sat on the same carpet and dined, or, to use the words of the historian, ate salt together The festival was prolonged for two days in the midst of universal rejoicing As Kāmīān, from the rapidity and hurried nature of his return, had left his tents behind him on the road, the Emperor ordered a set to be pitched close to his own, and, at his desire, consented to ‘ Askari’s going to stay with him ’

For this historic feast Gul-badan has provided a *livre d’œuvre* in shape of a story of improper conduct in Sulaimān which, if it expressed delusion, as her vague wording does not forbid to be read, was fully justified by both what had been and what was to come. It is a very funny little tale, and readers are commended to it

To tears and professions were added lands and freedom Kāmīān received Kūlāb, where Haram Begam’s father had

once ruled for Bābar and Humāyūn. He was now dead, and his son, Chakr 'Alī, was left with Kāmrān there. The mīrza was not pleased with his fief. 'What!' he exclaimed to the bearer of the deed of grant, 'have I not been king of Kābul and Badakhshān? Kūlāb is a mere district of Badakhshān. How can I serve in it?' The bearer observed that he had heard Kāmrān was wise, and begged permission to remind him that the wonder was he had received anything at all. 'Ashkālī, too, was given a fief, and then, leaving them neighbours and at large, Humāyūn went back to Kābul in October, 1548.

A campaign was planned for 1549 against the Uzbegs and Balkh. This was done despite marked instability in the royal following. Instability or, in a plainer word, desertion, was an accident to which Humāyūn was peculiarly liable. One cause of it is more interesting than the common one of personal gain, because it is rooted in theological bias. Humāyūn's coquetry with Shusm in Persia is one of the most entertaining of the episodes of his sojourn there, and it had consequences in arousing distrust of him, which cropped up from time to time. Bābar himself had lost ground because of his tolerance to variety of faith. But to this, both in the father and still more in the son, were added, as causes of desertion, the flux and reflux of weak government which forbid men to know who will keep the upper hand and have power to oppress.

To return to the Balkh campaign spring was waited for and there was delay for men. Spring came, and the minds of the ladies turned to thoughts of excursions out of town. They remarked more than once to Humāyūn that the *māj* would be coming up in the hills. This is a plant of subacid flavour which some say is like sorrel and some like rhubarb. It was, at least, a plant that people made excursions to eat, much as others go blackbeirying. To these hints for change the royal reply was that the army was going out, that it would pass by the Koh-i-dāman (which is renowned for its *māj*), and that the ladies should go too. Gul badan must not be deprived of

her story of the picnic, which illuminates the domestic ways of the court. The ladies went so far as to see the waterfall at Faizā, and perhaps even to Istalif, twenty miles north of Kābul, and then returned.

There had been bad omens for the start and there followed plenty of bad news from the front to fix attention on them. Kāmrān broke his promise to come to Humāyūn's help. Gul-chīhra's second husband, an Uzbeg prince, ran away when he came to know that the army was directed against his people. There was an extraordinary retreat without an enemy, and of which the cause seems to have been fear that, as Kāmrān was not there, he was oppressing Kābul. Humāyūn was left almost alone, and the Uzbegs attacked and killed many fugitives. His horse was wounded and the whole affair was a fiasco. After all, too, when Kābul was reached, there had been no sign of Kāmrān.

It was expected that Kāmrān should not keep his word, but perhaps the unexpected was behind his conduct on the occasion of the Balkh campaign. Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm were with Humāyūn, and their presence might well have kept him away, for Gul-badan tells of an incident in which the three men had part and which did not make them good company for one another. It is a bit of scandal to which Haram adds salt and vitality. It is repeated here because some little points do not quite stand clear in the begam's wording. While Kāmrān was in Kūlāb—*i.e.*, his last holding,—someone, who from her name of Taikhān Begam must have been a woman of good birth, advised him to make love to Haram Begam Good, she said, would come of it. So Kāmrān sent a go-between with a letter and a kerchief to Haram, who, furiously angry, at once summoned husband and son from wherever they were away from home, and told them of the advances made to her. She railed at Sulaimān, saying that it was clear he was thought a coward, and further observed that Kāmrān feared neither *her* nor her son. Much was packed in the pronoun here, there

was ground to fear the energetic and resolute woman who had the army of Badakhshan at her disposal. She was a forceful person and had the go between torn to pieces. Kîmrân was audacious, and his advances look the more so that Hamrân's sister was his wife, but they may have been made rather to the charms of her army than to those of its commandante.

The events of 1550 sum up in Tâuhâr's words 'Mirzâ Kîmrân wandered about the country with bad intentions.' In his course he surprised Humayûn in the Qibchaq defile, and an engagement took place which was attended by great loss of life. It was witnessed by Hamrân's wives and daughters from a commanding height. Bayazid mentions that the ladies wore turbans (*dastur bâstî*), a detail which may have been suggested by the great heat of the weather. Why the women were on the scene is perhaps explained by a similar record in the Memoirs which concerns a wife of Sultan Husain *Bayqra*. Shâhrâmu, a daughter of Sultan Abu Sa'id Mirzâ, was, with Husain's other wives, present at a battle between her husband and her brother, Mahmud Mirzâ. She did not, as the other ladies did, leave her litter and mount a horse, so as to be ready for flight if necessary, but trusting to her brother, in the case of her husband's defeat, remained comfortably in her litter while the fight went on. This dispassionate composure so much offended Husain that he divorced her. Perhaps Hamrân's family, too, had prepared for whatever was to be their fate by protecting themselves against the sun and by being ready to mount.

In this encounter Humayûn was badly wounded. Gulbadan was able to hear the details of the misadventure, because Khîzî Khwâja was with her brother and, it may be said, fighting against his own, Yusm-daulat. Khîzî and Mir Sayyid Birka *Tâmîzî* helped to hold the wounded man up on an ambling pony when he could not sit his horse, and so they led him out of the fray, sustaining his courage as they went by tales of other princes who had come through plights as bad. The wound was on the head,

and was like one of Bābar's in that it was given through a covering turban and this was uninjured The pain was great and caused faintness Humāyūn took off his quilted coat and gave it to a servant The man finding its weight an encumbrance, left it lying, it was taken to Kāmrān, who posted off with it to Kābul, showed it as evidence of death, and once more took possession of the unfortunate city

Jauhar has quaint stories of the destitution in which Humāyūn now was, with his camp equipage lost and deprived of all necessaries He was helped along through the night, cold and weakened, and in the morning was placed in safety by the arrival of a body of reliable troopers under Hāji Muhammad hāha He warmed himself in the sun, washed his wound, said his prayer kneeling on a scarlet stool, and borrowed a coat from a servant to replace his own, which was blood-stained Then came an old woman of the place and offered him a pair of silk trousers, that he might discard his blood-stained ones He accepted, while saying they were not fit for a man's wear, and remitted her taxes for life This was drawing well in anticipation of the time when his account in those regions would stand to his credit

It is said that while he sat with his face still to the *qibla* one of his followers, Sultān Muhammad *qāriyal*, performed again for him the rite his father had observed, and expressed his willingness to die for him Humāyūn spoke reassuring words and comforted his faithful sacrifice

For nearly three months Kābul believed Humāyūn dead These words cover much feeling, sad and joyful, but there is no one to tell the truth and say whether it was thought by some to offer better hope of peace that Humāyūn should be dead There was always a large following of powerful officers ready to join Kāmrān, and one cannot suppose their changes in allegiance mere folly and sickliness But no courtly author has told Kāmrān's side of the whole matter, nor his view of his own position

With Kābul Akbar came again into his uncle's hands

He was kept safe through all the vicissitudes of his father's career, and was well cared for both by Kāmrān and by 'Asharī. It has been said that on one occasion Kāmrān exposed him on the battlements of Kābul to his father's guns, and this charge finds support from our princess. She however, it may be observed, makes no mention of the act attributed by some writers to Māham *anaga*, of interposing her own body to shield the child, indeed, she never once mentions this latterly influential woman. But this incident notwithstanding, it must be admitted that the boy was well treated. 'Asharī's wife, who took charge of him after his capture at Quetta, is said to have been most kind to him. He was entrusted by Kāmrān to Khānzāda, itself an act of surety and kindness. Again and again he fell into his uncle's hands when Kāmrān was exasperated by foiled attempts to keep Kābul, and yet he survived. Kāmrān had a son, it would have surprised no one to learn that, as complement to his effort to oust Humāyūn from his higher place, he had killed Akbar to give his own son more chance. In this there is what fixes attention in the same way that it is fixed by Gul-badan's record of Kāmrān's anxiety to obtain from the elder ladies of his house sanction to have the *khutba* read in his name. It was in his power to have himself proclaimed ruler in Kābul, but he discussed his wish to be so proclaimed with the other members of the royal family before he did it, and the discussion was prolonged, and referred from Dil-dār to the greatest of the ladies, Khānzāda. In both these points there is something which, if better known, might mitigate the sweeping judgment usually passed upon Kāmrān as altogether wrong in all his doings.

Humāyūn spent some time in Ander-āb while his wound was healing and his army gathering, and here Haram comes again upon the scene. Where Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm were, is not quite clear, but it was to Hālam a message went asking her for the army of Badakhshān. It was to come as quickly as possible, and fully equipped. It took the energetic woman only a few days to put some thousands of

men in the field. It was she, says our princess, who did it all, took thought, and overlooked everything. Then she led the men to 'the pass,'—amongst so many possible, one cannot fix on which,—and having done her work, went home. It seems probable that Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm were already with Humāyūn, and that Haram despatched a supplementary force. The battle in which it was to engage was that important fight at Ushtur-grām which Humāyūn tried hard to prevent by previous mediation, and which was forced on by Kāmrān's chief officer, Qarācha Khān.

There was much previous discussion as to terms of peace, but Kāmrān and Qarācha would have nothing less than Kābul. A second embassy offered alliance of the 'unique pearl of the *khilāfat*,' Akbar, with the mīrzā's 'dear daughter' (who may be 'Āyisha), and that Kābul should be theirs, and suggested that Humāyūn and Kāmrān should join forces and again attack Hindūstān. All came to nothing, because Qarācha cried, and enforced his cry, 'Our heads or Kābul.' The battle that followed was a complete success for the royal arms, and to add to its good results, Akbar, of whose safety there had been doubt, was brought to Humāyūn's camp. His father vowed charitable gifts for his restoration, and also that he would never part from him again.

A pleasant chance befell Humāyūn on the stricken field, for when he had claimed, as his share of booty, two driverless camels, he found in their loads his own books which he had lost at the Qibehāq defile. Many would be MSS. of the Persian poets, Bābar knew these well and often quotes the *Gulistān*, and Humāyūn was too much of a dilettante and verse-lover not to have made himself familiar with them round.

Happily the tale of the doings of Kāmrān is drawing to a close. He made a night attack, by which Hindāl lost his life, on the royal forces on November 20th, 1551, sued for help in vain from Sālim Shāh, the Emperor of Hindūstān, from Adam Ghakkar, and was surrendered by him to Humāyūn, was blinded by the insistence of the

amirs on August 17 1553, and allowed to go to Makka. He was accompanied, as all the writers tell, by his Arghūn wife Mūh-chūchak, and by her equal in compassion, a servant of Humāyūn Chilma Beg. He made the *haj* four times and he died on October 5th, 1557. Mūh-chūchak survived him seven months. She only of his wives is commemorated as accompanying him to Makka, but I see no reason why others may not also be accepted as equally faithful. Her father opposed her going, and she roundly upheld her view of her duty and has been taken into the texture of history, but her co-wives may have gone unopposed and unpraised. How interesting Kāmrān might have made a book of Memoirs in which he set down his life from his own point of view, his motives, ambitions, opinions of right and wrong, and above all, if he had spoken his inner mind about the religious duties he was enabled to perform before death, through his defeat and mutilation! We do not know all the truth about him—certain crimes, of murder and of treachery after promise given, could never be palliated, but in the matter of possession of Kabul there may be much brought forward which would place him rather in the position of the defender of rights than their assailant. He had no courtly chronicler, and has borne the blame of much that could plausibly be traced back to Humāyūn's own defects and their outcome of opportunity.

To end the story of the faithful brothers,—'Asharī too received leave to go to Makka from Badakshan in 1551, he died between that city and Damascus in 1558. Both he and Kāmrān thus lived long enough to see their house triumph again in India and their weary thwartings of its elder branch set at naught by the firmer hands of Akbar's chiefs. Of 'Asharī one clear characteristic only comes out—he was true to the blood tie with his mother's son and own senior, Kāmrān.

A little return must now be made, in order to bring up the tale of home events to the date of those military. In 1551 the first marriage of the younger generation was arranged by the betrothal of Bakhshī-bānū to Ibrāhīm, son

of Haram The Badakhshī trio had certainly deserved well of Humāyūn and, while doing the best they could to strengthen their own position, had given him efficient help It is good to tell all that is known of Haram She seems to have had several daughters who played a part in public events as seals of alliance When Humāyūn had passed a short time of repose in Kābul after his victory of Ushtur-grām, he sent to Haram to ask Shāhzāda Khānam, one of these girls, in marriage for himself His envoys were two persons whom Hāram did not consider worthy of their office They were members of the royal household, and trusted members too, for one was Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Mahmūd, *mī sāmān*,¹ who, on Akbar's accession, was made commander of 2,500, and the other was Bibi Fātīma, whom we know as having helped to nurse Humāyūn in his illness of 1546

Haram, the dominant partner in the command of Badakhshān, mother of a girl in whose veins was reputed to flow the blood of Alexander and of Tīmūr, daughter of a tribal chief, and conscious of intrinsic claim to deference, inquired of the two lowly messengers why no begam or lady (*aghācha*) had come to prefer the royal request She must have known that Humāyūn could not mean to affront her, he had just given his daughter to her son and had testified gratitude for help in substantial ways to Sulaimān at the same time She allowed herself to be mollified on condition that he himself should come to fetch his bride The wedding does not seem to have taken place and the alliance was handed on to the next generation, in which, besides Ibrāhīm's, there was a betrothal of Muhammad Hakīm to a daughter of Haram

While speaking of Haram and the alliances of her family with the royal house, there may be named a high-handed act about another quasi-royal marriage One of

¹ This title is sometimes rendered 'butler,' but this is misleading, and a word not linked in English with intoxicants would be better Jalālu d dīn it was who led Humāyūn to give up the use of drugs, unfortunately late in life, by a gentle and forcible reproach

Kāmrān's wives was Muhtarīma Khānam *Chaghātāi*, and on his death Sulaimān wished to marry her. Of her as co-wife, Haīam would not hear, and contrived to make her a daughter-in-law by marrying her to Ibrāhīm.

The death of Hindāl in the night attack of Kāmrān, on November 20th, 1551, was a heavy blow to Gul-badan. She writes of it with feeling, and casts light on the question of rank in the affections of a Musalmān wife. She asks why her son or her husband was not killed rather than her brother. Perhaps she spoke out of feeling born of the fact that no dead father's son can be replaced, and from the depths of family affection. Dutiful and admirable as were many of the wives of this time, the tie between the husband and a wife can never be so close as it is where the husband's affection is never a divisible factor in the household. Gul-badan shows that Musalmānī affection centred on those of the same blood.

The royal ladies must have felt it hard when, after having mourned Humāyūn through Kāmrān for nearly three months, Hindāl was killed. This happened near Khizr Khwāja's fief of Jui-shāhī, which explains why the body was sent there for burial and entrusted to the khwāja. It was removed later to Kābul and laid at Bābar's feet. Hindāl was thirty-two years old, and left one daughter, Ruqaiya, who became the first wife of Akbar and survived him, a childless woman, to the age of eighty-four.

Unfortunately for her readers, our begam's book ends abruptly (just after she has mentioned the blinding of Kāmrān,) in the only MS of which we have knowledge, i.e., that belonging to the British Museum. The missing pages are a real loss. The narrative breaks off some three years before Akbar's accession, and for the future the best authority on our topics is silent. There is no occurrence of her own name in the histories until she goes to India in the first year of Akbar. Much of supreme importance happened to the royal family in the interval, and this makes regret the keener for the defective MS.

Set free from the burden of his brothers, Humāyūn

determined, in 1554, to try his fortune again in Hindūstān He left Kābul on November 15th,—a date so near that of Bābāi's start in 1525 that it looks as if both obeyed the same omen of the heavens,—and with Akbar dropped comfortably down the river from Jalālābād to Peshāwar The course of his advance beyond the Indus can be followed in Mr Erskine's pages, and need not be repeated here He was proclaimed Emperor in Dihlī on July 23rd, 1555

A little-known episode of the time is the visit to India and the court of Sidi 'Alī *Reis*, a Turkish admiral of Sulaimān the Great, who by the exigencies of war and weather found himself obliged to travel with a few officers and fifty sailors from Sūrat to Lāhōr and thence across all the wide intervening lands to Turkey¹. He was welcomed by Musalmāns for his master's sake, and he was offered appointments in India, all of which he refused He was received with great honour by Shāh Husain *Aighūn*, of whom he says that he had then reigned forty years, and had become so invalided during the last five that he could not sit his horse and used only boats for travel Elsewhere it is said of Shāh Husain that he was subject to fever of such kind that he could live only on the river, and that he used to spend his time in going up and down from one extremity to the other of his territory in search of ease and health Probably this is a detail of the admiral's remark He heard of Māh-chūchak (wife of Husain), whom he calls Haji Begam, as prisoner of 'Isā *Tarkhān*, and of her return to Husain He heard, too, something which is not supported by other writers, namely, that she poisoned Husain, and that he died in consequence ten days after she rejoined him The improbability of this story is shown by the fact that later on she conveyed Husain's body to Makka for interment, an act which would be incredible if the accusation of murder were true Much that is interesting is told of the journey to the first place

¹ 'Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Alī Reis', Vambéry, Luzac and Co., 1899

where Sidi Ali's route brought him into contact with Humayun's people, i.e., Lahore. He arrived early in August, shortly after the Restoration (July 23rd), and there awaited royal orders, because the governor would not let him go on until the Emperor had seen him. When one tries to picture one's self without telegrams or newspapers, one judges that a kindly-disposed amir would endeavour to forward everyone who could tell a tale for the entertainment of the court. Humayun sent for the admiral, and had him received, in the first half of October,¹ outside Delhi by Būrīm Khān-i-Ihānān, other great amirs, 1,000 men, and 100 elephants. He dined with the Khān-i-Ihānān, and was then introduced to the presence.

As was natural, the Emperor wished to keep his guest at court permanently, if possible, and if not this, then long enough to calculate solar and lunar eclipses, their degree of latitude and exact date, and to help the court astrologers to study the sun's course and the points of the equator. What fastened interest on the Ottoman was that he learned to write verses in Chaghatāi Turki so well that Humayun called him a second Ali Shir Nava'i. He had a turn for chronograms too, and at his first audience presented one of the taking of Delhi, and made others subsequently which were admired. He was a clever man, and his literary aptitudes suited his royal host and the tone of the entourage. But he had other acquirements than those which ring well the change of words and obtained him his sobriquet of 'book-man,' and these others he used to bring about an agreement between the Emperor and his own former host,

¹ M. Vambery makes the Emperor urge, as a reason for keeping the admiral, that they were 'now close upon the ruins.' But it was October, and, moreover, Humayun pointed out that the rivers were in flood and roads impassable. Perhaps this is a mistake of the admiral's, but still he saw the rivers, to his cost, in going to Delhi. Those who may read the interesting little book, for which thanks are due to M. Vambery, need to accept it in other places also with some caution—e.g., p. 38, Sultan Mahmud Bhalbarī is called Husain Irghān's adopted brother, and p. 40, his father. He was a *kuka*. Some of the mistakes may well be due to the difficulty of getting hold of a fact, and thus especially on a journey. But cf. p. 43 n.

Sultān Mahmūd *Bhakkari* An official paper was drawn up, to which Humāyūn, literally, set his fist, for he dipped his clenched hand in saffron and laid it on the deed Mahmud was much pleased, and both he and his vizier wrote their thanks to the mediator This incident, and others too, gave occasion for other Tūrkī ghazels and higher praise Sidi 'Alī was constantly in the royal circle, and there were contests in verse-making and dilettante amusements which reveal the true and newly-risen Huma once more at ease in untrammellized India The traveller had not much to coax court favour with in the way of gifts, and this plumed his poetic flights, when he was wearied by his detention, he carried two ghazels to the royal seal-bearer and let them plead for his departure They were heard, and he got 'leave to go,' with gifts and passport

His affairs were all in order for his start when there happened the fatal accident which ended Humāyūn's life That Humāyūn should die violently was in keeping with the violent changes of his career, and that he met his death in a building of Shīr Shāh was a singular chance His last hours of activity were filled by pleasant occupations, old friends had been seen who had just come back from Makka and would bring him news of both pilgrim brothers, letters had been read from home in Kābul, he had gone up to the roof of the Shīr Mandal, which he used as his library, and had shown himself to the crowd assembled below, then he had interested himself in the rising of Venus, with the object of fixing a propitious hour for a reception,—perhaps to include the farewell of the Turkish guest

The Shīr Mandal is a two-storied building with flat roof in the middle of which rises a small cupola which looks like a shade from the sun The roof is reached by two discontinuous, steep, and narrow flights of high and shallow granite steps, which are enclosed in walls and the upper one of which emerges through the roof The Emperor on that Friday evening of January 21th, 1556, had started down the upper flight and was on its second step, when the *mu'azzin* raised the cry for prayer from the neighbouring mosque Sidi

'Ali says, as though it were some individual habit of Humāyūn, that the latter had the custom of kneeling whenever he heard the cry, other writers say that he tried to seat himself His foot became entangled, some say in his mantle (*postīn*), his staff slid along the smooth step, and he fell to the bottom of the flight with severe injuries to head and arm It is professed that a letter went after the fall from him to Akbar, but this may be a part of the well-meaning deception in which the dangerous nature of the injuries was shrouded, it would seem more probable from the admiral's account of the episode, which is silent as to any recovery of consciousness, that the injuries to the head were too severe to allow of restoration to sense Three days later Humāyūn died, on January 27th, and in the forty-eighth year of his age

'We come from God, and to Him we return,' and 'There is no guard against fate,' are the quoted comments of the Turkish admiral He counselled that the death should be concealed until Akbar's return to Dihlī, and brought forward experience drawn from his own country's similar circumstances This was done and various fictions were composed A man personated the dead Emperor in public audience, and there were rejoicings over his recovery from the fall Sidi 'Alī took leave of the grandees, and conveyed the false news of Humāyūn's restoration to health in a friendly way along his route By the time he reached Lāhōr he found that Akbar had been proclaimed, and his name read in the Friday prayers Here, as before, the traveller had to wait for royal orders, because the governor had, or invented, useful orders for the crisis, that no one should pass to Kābul Then he was sent to the presence in Kilānū, where Akbar honoured his father's passport and let the harassed and home-sick man continue his journey, with money for expenses and a strong escort to Kābul

Before bidding him good-bye on his still lengthy journey, it may be said that he and his four escorting begs and his sailors marched to Peshāwar through the night to escape that

Adam Ghakkar who had made over Kāmīān to Humāyūn, that they saw two rhinoceroses, an event which makes one wonder whether there still remained a part of the ancient lake of the plain of Peshawar to serve as habitat for the huge and now vanished beasts, and that they crossed the many-memoried Khaibar

In Kābul the admiral saw Humāyūn's two sons, Muhammad Hakīm and Farīukh-fāl, who were born in the same month of 1553, one being the child of Māh-chūchak and the other of Khānīsh āghā Khwānzīmī. This statement is a surprise, because Bāyazīd says that Farīukh died within a few days of birth. The admiral's information suggests an error in Bāyazīd's MS.

Sīdī 'Alī found Kābul beautiful and speaks of its snowy girdle, its gardens and its running water. He traced pleasure and merriment and feasting everywhere, and even instituted comparison between it and Paradise to the disadvantage of the latter. But he had no time for 'frivolities,' and thought only of hurrying home. He saw Mu'nm Khān in the city, and being told by him that he could not cross the passes, observed that men had overcome mountains, and under the care of a local guide whose home was on the road, accomplished thefeat with labour and safely. He took the road to Tāliqān and there saw our well-known friends, Sulaimān and Ibrāhīm, but he is silent as to Hāimā. Here, too, he wrote and offered his ghazel, and was both welcomed and speeded. In Tāliqān we must leave him who has been a welcome new figure amongst familiar actors.

SECTION III —UNDER AKBAR

Protected by the capable men who upheld Akbar, the royal ladies had not again to flee before foes or to suffer violent change of fortune. Humāyūn had planned their journey from Kābul to India. Akbar more than once in his first year of rule had to cancel the orders he had given to effect it. Three military affairs disturbed the plan,—the suppression of the revolt of Abū'l-ma'āli, the operations

against Sikandar *Afghān*, and the encounter with Hīmū at Pānīpat. At length amīns were named to escort the ladies from Kābul. The officers set out, but on their march received orders to act first against Sulaimān Mīrzā, who, on hearing of Humāyūn's death, had come over from Badakhsbān to besiege Kabul. This was the first of a series of his attempts on the city, to which he laid fanciful claim as head of the house of Timūr after Humayūn. The approach of the imperial troops broke up his siege, and his claim having been accommodated by reading his name once in the *Ihutba* at Kabul, he went home and left the ladies free to start.

They made their journey in time to arrive during the first quarter of 1557 near where lay the royal camp, at Mānkot, in the western Sewahiks. The Emperor came a stage from it to meet them, and was 'much comforted by the reunion'. With Hamida-bānu Begam, to whom, as Empress-mother, the chief place must be assigned, were Gul-badan, Gul-chihra, Haji, and Salima Begams. There was also a large company of officers' wives.

Perhaps the ladies remained near the camp until it broke up and went to Līhōr. It left that city on its march for Dihlī on December 7th, 1557, at Jalindhar it halted, and here, with pomp and amidst general interest, Bairām Khān-i-khānān married Salima Sultān Begam, a granddaughter of Bābar. She was a half-niece of Humāyūn, and she had with Akbar cousinship of the 'four-anna' degree. Bābar was their common ancestor, and their differing grandmothers diluted the cousinly relation.

This alliance had been arranged by Humāyūn, and the use of *sipurdān* by Abū'l-fa'l when writing of it, shows that what was now celebrated was a marriage, and not a betrothal. This point is mentioned here because some writers fix Salima's age at this time as five, an estimate which is not supported by known facts of her life. The bride was probably a reward for the surpassing services done by Bairām for Humāyūn, the newest being those of the Restoration. Bairām was a man to whom seems due the largesse

of the hand of a king's daughter, he out-topped his contemporaries by his full stature in capacity, culture, faithfulness, and character. Salima,¹ though much his junior, was in other respects a fit wife for him. She was an educated woman, ranks amongst verse-makers so completely as to have a pen-name (*takhallas*), and stands out gently, by birth, character, and attainments.

Khwāja Khān had gone to Hindūstān with Humāyūn in 1554, and early in 1556 had been appointed by Akbar to the government of Lāhōr. He was left to carry on operations against Sikandar Afghān when Akbar was called away by Hīmū's movements, and he was defeated. The few words said about him give the impression that he was not a good soldier, and he is never again named in responsible command. The slight things recorded of him point to subsequent comfortable existence at court as the 'husband of the Emperor's aunt, Gul badan Begam'. Once he made a gift of horses to Akbar, in 1563 he helped to nurse Akbar when the latter was wounded in Dihlī, and there is no record of his death. He was raised to high military rank, and at some time was *amīru-l-umara'*, but the *Aīn-i-ahbarī* does not place him in its list of *mansabdārs*. He stands twelfth in the general list of the *Tabaqāt*, and amongst the chiefs of 5,000.

From her coming to India in 1557 to the time of her pilgrimage in 1574, our princess is not mentioned by the historians. The interval held much of deep interest to her and to others of her generation whose lives were slipping away under the safeguarding of Akbar. Some survivors of an older day, witnesses of Bairām's fidelity to Humāyūn, must have felt his downfall keenly. Hamida can hardly have been ignorant of the intrigue which brought this about, because she was related to the chief actors in it,—Māham *anaya*, Adham Khān, and Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad.

¹ The histories have a definite statement about her descent which yet presents difficulties when looked into. Its points are considered in the Appendix, *s n* Salima.

Nishāpūrī The last was governor of Dihlī, where she lived, and part of the scheme to separate Akbar from Bairām took him to Dihlī to see her, and thus under the eye of Shihāb Hamīda must have had clear in memory the truly valid services done for her husband by Bairām during the Persian exile. The plot had its nucleus in a sāvyid circle and in families religious by inheritance, and it was carried out at the point of the tongue. Muhammad Bāqī Khīn *lūka*, the *anāqa*'s elder son, does not appear as taking part in it. He served the Emperor till 1584, rose to be a chief of 3,000, and of his character nothing is known. His younger brother, Adham, although put to death in 1562, had become chief of 5,000. All that is said of him is bad, and he, like his mother, was fluent in detraction and did all in his power to poison the mind of Akbar against the worthiest of his amirs.

Many comments have been made upon Māham *anāqa*, both by the Persian writers and by their European commentators. Abū'l-fażl calls her a cupola of chastity, and it is now possible to wipe from her reputation the stain suggested by Professor Blochmann when writing of the parentage of Adham. She was wife of Nadīm Khīn *lūka*, a faithful servant of Humāyūn. This fragment of useful information was brought to light by Mr Beveridge, who found it in a MS of Colonel Hanna, which may yield other valuable matter on quasi domestic points. Māham *anāqa* may be granted the praise she deserves as a nurse who earned the affection of Akbar to the end of her life, she is entitled to such praise as belongs to a mother who screens a son's every fault and pushes his fortunes with all her influence. She must take the dispraise of not pushing her elder son's as she did Adham's. Bāyzād *bīyat* speaks of her as kind to him, and tells little stories which show her the centre of small affairs. I have not discerned in her any sign of talent. Whatever influence Akbar's affection gave her would be strengthened by her connection with his mother, and perhaps, too, with other women who were descended from Ahmad *Jāmī*. Amongst these was Hājī

Begam, Humāyūn's widow and a person much regarded by the Emperor

In the year following Bairām's death, Adham Khān, who, says the *Tabaqat*, held a place higher than the other courtiers because he was his mother's son, was on duty in Mālwa against Bāz Bahādur Sūr. Incidents resulted which emphasize regret that for such as the actors in them Bairām had had to make way. Māham *anaga* was *de facto* prime minister, Mu'num Khān had been made *Khān-i-Khānān*, and it was looked for by his friend the *anaga* that he should become prime minister *de jure*. Bāz Bahādur was defeated and fled from Sārangpūr. Aping the Hindūs, he had ordered his servants to kill the women of his household in the event of his defeat. Several had been so killed, many had been wounded, when the sacrifice was interrupted by the imperialists under Adham. Badāyuni says that there followed slaughter by Adham and his colleague, Pir Muhammad Khān, of terrible extent, and his own eyes saw that these two regarded God's creation in mankind as leeks, cucumbers, and radishes,—a quaint turn of words which covers awful butchery. When remonstrated with in the name of the law, the murderers asked what was to be done with so many prisoners.

If the order for the death of the women of Bāz Bahādur's household had issued from a Rājpūt heart, there would have been no need for executioners while he was in flight. The victims were, however, not Rājpūtnis, and they suffered only to gratify the vanity of a Moslim. Amongst those wounded was Rūp-matī, a dancing-girl renowned throughout Hindūstān for beauty, singing, and poetic gifts. Her name seems that of a Hindū. Her wounds, inflicted by Bāz Bahādur's order, were severe and she wished to die. Adham let her know that, if she would care for herself, he would send her to her master when she could travel. She took his promise as true, had her wounds dressed and recovered. When she claimed fulfilment of Adham's word, she was told to consider herself as his slave. He entered her room, raised her veil, and saw her dead by her own act.

Perhaps the point of deepest social degradation in this story is that Rūp-matī was, by men's decree, born to sin without blame, and yet she died because she loved one man. Her heart was single, and yet she was only the most charming, clever and beautiful of a crowd of dancing-girls, purchased slaves, to whom no man's loyalty and no mercy were thought due.

Adham Khān took much booty from Bāz Bahādur, and he disregarded the rule which required the choicest part to be sent to the Emperor, he also comported himself more like an independent ruler than a king's lieutenant. This angered Akbar, and he hurried off to Sarangpū, outdistanced a messenger of Māham *anāqā* whom she had sent with warnings, and took Adham by surprise. She herself came in next day and counselled surrender of the spoil. This and other matters having been adjusted, the Emperor started for his capital. No sooner was he gone than Adham, with his mother's connivance, regained possession of two of the most coveted of the captive women. News of this went after Akbar, who ordered them to be returned to the royal camp. When they came again within her power, the *anāqā* had them murdered, so that they might not tell the tale of their abduction.

Having spent so many years under the influence of Māham *anāqā*, it is to the credit of Akbar's humanity and mental force that there are not more than the recorded blots on his scutcheon, at nineteen he rebelled against his nurse, when she had set his feet on the primrose path to ruin of person and empire. He did not punish the murderer of the captive girls, but he soon manifested his intention to depose his nurse and her son from power. Instead of appointing their friend Mu'nim prime minister, he summoned his foster-father, Shamsu-d-dīn Ahmad Ghaznawī and gave him the post. Shamsu-d-dīn was an unlettered man, but he was staunch and had sons who were true to Jī-Jī *anāqā*'s nursing.

The next episode in which Māham *anāqā* and her son appear, was one to shake the home fabric to its foundations,

for Adham murdered Shamsu-d-dīn, bursting in upon him as he sat in business audience and unsuspicuous. It was done on the night of May 16th, 1562. The incident is well known, how the murderer rushed to the *hāram* door and on the appearance of Akbar began to palliate his crime, but was struck down by a blow of the royal fist and then killed by royal order¹

It was the Emperor who told Māham *anaga* of her son's death 'Māmā! we have killed Adham,' are the words put into his mouth by Bāyazīd. She fell ill from anger and grief, this blow shattered her heart's idol and her ambition for him and herself. Badāyunī says that she died after having presented the food of the fortieth day of mourning, and this points to her belief that the souls of the dead take final departure from earth on that day and after partaking of the food of their choice which the care of relations sets for them. Mother and son were buried in one spot, and Akbar placed his shoulder under his nurse's bier in sign of his sentiment to her.

Quite stirring news for discussion through some years, amongst the elder ladies of the royal family, would be the conduct of Māh-chūchak Begam in Kābul. She was the last recorded wife of Humāyūn, and was married in 1546, after the coming of Hamīda from Qandahār to Kābul. She was not a woman of birth,—one gathers a general impression that few royal wives married late in life were so,—and her title of begam was probably owed to her having borne a son, Muhammad Hakīm. In 1554 Humāyūn had left her three-years-old boy as nominal governor of Kābul under charge of Mu'nūm Khān, and in 1556 Akbar had confirmed the appointment. When Mu'nūm went to court in 1561,

¹ Some writers put into Akbar's mouth, when he addressed Adham, an epithet which would imply baseness in his birth and opprobrium of his mother, but I am advised that from various considerations weight need not be given to the inference of the word, which, moreover, is not used by all the sources. The point is mentioned here because of the contradiction involved in the epithet with the statement of marriage with Nadīm *kūka*, and with the terms of respect employed towards the *anaga* by the Persian writer who uses the degrading epithet.

the discussion between them of his wish to take Muhtarīma to wife, which Haram had frustrated by marrying the khanām to Sulaimān's son instead of to himself, but she had been angered extremely by the murder of one of her brothers by her husband and her son. She took the resolution of deserting Sulaimān and went over to Kābul, where then Mu'nīm Khān was governor, and she had meant to carry on her complaints to Akbar. Mu'nīm, however, who had been begged to mediate by Sulaimān, gave her good advice and pacified her, so that at last she consented to return to Badakhshān. He rode out to bid her farewell, she bade her camel kneel and dismounted, he got off his horse, and there was exchange of friendly greeting. She told him she regarded him as a brother and that for his sake she would never bring the army of Badakhshān against Kābul. It came several times later and with her approval, but Haram could swear and break even 'awful oaths' Bāyazīd *bīyāt* accompanied her to the Ghurband and was charmed by her suavity and agreeableness.

On the death of Abū'l-ma'ālī, Sulaimān sent home for a daughter and married her to Muhammad Hakīm, partitioned out some of the lands of Kābul to his own people, and went home to Qila'-i-zafar. Irritation against the interlopers led to their expulsion by the Kābulis, and this brought the Badakhshī forces again to Kābul, in 1564. Muhammad Hakīm hurried to the Indus and complained to his big brother and Sulaimān was made to retreat.

In 1566 he and Haram and their girls were again before the coveted Kābul, and on this occasion Haram tried to supplement their failing military action by treachery. She got Sulaimān to lay an ambush for Muhammad Hakīm, whom, with 'awful oaths' of amity, she had persuaded to have a meeting with her under profession of desire to adopt him now that her son Ibrīhīm was dead. The end of this affair was, in net result to the Badakhshīs, nothing, Haram went home and Sulaimān followed. With them went the unfailing daughters, of whom Haram seems to have had many, or who were betrothed and not

'entrusted,' so many recorded times. They had been near capture by the Kābulis in the Four-walled Garden, but the commandant of the city recalled his men and let the girls go free, because he did not think it seemly to capture women.

This is not the place to follow Sulaimān's interesting fortunes to their close, under Akbar's protection, by death in Lāhōr in 1589. For our purpose, it is enough to say that he held Badakhshīn so long as Hāram's watchful eye was on him, and lost it at her death. It was Muhtarīma's son, Shīh-rukh, his own grandson, who turned him out of his beloved Badakhshān, and in this, too, there may be Hāram's hand. Muhtarīma would not be likely to teach her boy dutiful conduct to Hāram or to Hāram's husband, for the two women were foes, and Hāram had tried to separate Muhtarīma from her son, and to expel her from Badakhshān to her parental home in Kashīghār. If Hāram had lived, her pride would have found content in two alliances of her grandson with daughters of the royal blood, —one a child of Muhammād Ḥakīm, and the other of Akbar himself.

The ill behaviour of Hamīda-banū's brother, Khwāja Mu'azzam, must have been a frequent annoyance to the inner circle of the elder ladies at court. From boyhood he had been fantastic and mischievous, and perhaps carried always the germ of the madness which overtook his last years. Bairīm, the sensible, had exiled him, then had given him some countenance, on Bairām's fall he had received a fief, and, so far, had been favoured. But Akbar did not like him, and the murders he had committed were sufficient to warrant dislike. He was a true *panču*, assertive and relying on his sister to excuse his faults. Hamīda had been conscious before her marriage that her lowly birth was a point against her wedding with Humāyūn. The disparity in her case, as in other misalliances of the time, had raised unworthy people to power. Now, in 1564, Bibī Fātīma lamented to Akbar that Khwāja Mu'azzam had threatened to kill his wife Zuhīra, who was

her daughter. The Emperor consequently sent the khwāja word that he was coming to his house, and followed the message closely. As he entered, the khwāja stabbed Zuhra and then flung his knife, like a challenge, amongst the royal followers. Abū'l-sa'īl says that for punishment the murderer was flung into the river, but 'would not drown.' The more sensible Nizāmu d-dīn Ahmad says he was beaten and then soured in the river. He died insane, in prison, at Guāliār. All the shortcomings and crimes of the man notwithstanding, Hamīda must have cherished some warmth of feeling for the tricky boy who had lifted suspicion from her in the matter of the stolen rubies of the Persian episode.

In 1571 another old acquaintance comes to the front in the person of Nāhīd Begam, in whom our princess must have maintained interest for the sake of her father Qāsim, Bābāi's foster-brother. Nāhīd, as has been said earlier, was the daughter of Qāsim and of Māh chūchak Arghūn, who must not be confounded with Kāmrān's wife of the same name, one common amongst the Arghūn women of the time. She had married Muhibb-'alī, son of Nizāmu d-dīn 'Alī Khalīfa Baīlas, and who had risen to high military rank but now lived remote from soldiering and in reposeful retirement. Nāhīd's mother was now in her (third) widowhood for 'Isā Tarkhān Aīghūn, and she was not well regarded by her last husband's son, Muhammad Bāqī Tarkhān Aīghūn, the ruler of Tatta. Nāhīd, in 1571, went to see her mother, and perhaps conveyed to Bāqī the impression that her visit was something more than filial. He put Māh-chūchak in prison, and so behaved to Nāhīd that she hurried off to court and made bitter complaint of her own wrongs and of the rudeness shown to the royal attendants who had been with her in Sind. She told Akbar, too, that she had talked with Sultan Mahmud Bhakkarī, that old retainer of Shāh Husain who had kept the island-fort against Humāyūn in the forties, and for whom Sidi 'Alī Reis had negotiated terms in 1555. Mahmūd had suggested an attack on Tatta, and, supported by him,

Nihud pleaded for help from Akbar to act against Baqi. She was very keen about her plan and persuaded the Emperor to give men and money.

Mubabb al-i was disturbed from his repose, and put at the head of the force. With him went Nihud and also a wife named Samia and her son Mujahid. For Nihud's sake the long war that followed was instructive. An amusing episode of it was that Samia, when things did not go as she wished, went into rebellion against Akbar and vainly held an entrenchment against the royal amirs a day and a night. In the end, Mubabb al-i obtained a comfortable town appointment and nothing more is heard of the ladies. Probably they too accommodated themselves to the tolerant and forgiving atmosphere of Akbar's court.

Nizamuddin Ahmad is somewhat more sober of diction than his fellow penmen and so when he says that the Gujrat campaign of 1572 caused the royal ladies joy enough to lift their heads, whole-hearted delight is pictured. This was the campaign which made beautiful Sikri the City of Victory (Path-pur). Round one incident of the war women's interest,—and surely compassion also,—will have centred. The veil of historic silence lifts for a brief moment, and shows Gul-rukh, Kauran's daughter, in flight with her son.

Gulbulan's long span of unchronicled life was probably spent in the peaceful occupation of a wife and mother, with variety from books, verse making, festivities, and outside news. She must have found much to exercise her lively mind in Hindustan. That she went about with the royal camp is shown by the record of the place assigned to her tent in the encampments. It was pitched next to Hamida's, well within the great enclosure, and not far from the Emperor's own. Since she was a woman, she must have found food for observation in the doings and position of her sex under the conditions of their life in Hindustan. How did *sati* look to her? What did she think of the *jāhar*? Both these Hindū customs were far different from those of

her traditions in similar crises She came of a tribe which boasts of the fidelity of its wives to the marriage tie All the women of her house must have heard of the defiant act of Aīs-daulat, Bābar's grandmother, who had ordered her maids to stab a man to whom her captor had given her, and who then, for sole excuse, had observed that she was the wife of Yūnas Khān Gul-badan had also in her own family history plenty of examples of the fate of captured girls, for many of her kinswomen had married foes of their tribe, and many too had become contented wives, well treated, and remaining in their foreign homes apparently without constraint¹

What Timūrid women saw amongst the Hindūs reveals another type of virtue and another standard of wedded life Our princess must have heard something on the topic through her father's experience when she was a child Wifehood and motherhood now gave her better insight into the problems which underlie social relations She would hear that Rājpūtnis died joyfully rather than be captured, that outmatched Rājpūts killed wives and children and went to certain death themselves,—a holocaust to honour The early years of Akbar furnished plenty of such records

How, one would like to know, did the Musalmānī regard the willing death by fire of the Hindū widow, in that exaltation which lifts thought above pain and terror and is admirable, whether in the martyr for faith or for wifely duty? Unfortunately, the barriers of language and habit must have kept Akbar's Rājpūt wives from charming the Musalmānī ladies by recital of the legends of their race These Hindūs can never have been welcome inmates of the

¹ I think, and the impression is gathered from the Memoirs, that although women and children were often murdered by victorious soldiers, wives were often returned to their husbands or families, and that enforced marriage was usually with the defeated leader's daughters Perhaps the Muhammadan law of divorce helped the wives Injustice might easily be done under the rough and ready expectation that family ties would be set at naught by conquerors who were Muhammadans There was certainly diversity of action and of degree of mercy and chivalry

palace to any of the Moslems, but, pagan as they were thought, their conduct as wives must have insinuated the thin edge of conviction that to no one form of faith is committed the nurture of the sense of duty

One common thought Gul-badan and the rest could have shared with the Hindū ladies,—that of the duty of pilgrimage and of respect for holy places When next history concerns itself with our begam, it is to tell of her setting out, in 1575, for Makka The Emperor had been unwilling to part with her, and it may be, even, had delayed with the thought of accompanying her His heart was now much set upon making the *haj*, but he did no more than walk a short distance with a caravan from Āgra, dressed in the seamless wrapper of the Arabian ceremonies Though debarred from leaving Hindūstān himself, he helped many others to fulfil this primary duty of their faith, and opened wide his purse for their expenses Each year he named a leader of the caravan, and provided him with gifts and ample funds Sultān Khwaja, Gul-badan's cicerone, took, amongst other presents, 12,000 dresses of honour He did not bring her home again, this duty fell to Khwāja Yahyā (John) What circumstance extorted royal consent to Gul-badan's absence is not recorded, her advancing age,—she was past fifty,—and her dislike of the laxity in opinion and practice in matters of the Faith would add warmth to her request for leave to go

Abū'l-fazl has preserved the names of the chief ladies of the pilgrim party, but many others went with Gul-badan Begam, and for all the royal purse bore the cost She was the lady of highest birth, and was probably a widow, next came Salima Sultān Begam, widow of Bairām and wife of Akbar It was not usual for a wife to make the pilgrimage, but Muhammadan law stipulates that permission shall be granted to such wives as strongly desire to do so, and Salima's seems a case in point Next comes a woman whose presence reveals pleasant things She was Sultānam, widow of Akbar's uncle, 'Ashkārī, and of her it is recorded in Akbar's babyhood that she cared for him when

captured, with tender affection It is probable that she had spent many years under the care and at the cost of the Emperor Then come two step-nieces of Gul-badan, daughters of Kāmrān,—Hājī and Gul-izār Begams I do not know which child of his is veiled under the title of Hājī She seems to be making her second *haj*, and may well have gone on her first when her father was in Arabia To these two the pilgrimage would have humanly pious significance, as a visitation to their father's tomb and to that of Māh-chūchak *Arghūn*, whom all his children must have held in reverence Next comes a grand-daughter of Gul-badan herself, named Um-kūlsum (Mother of Plumpness), presumably after the daughter of her Prophet Whether she was the child of Sa'ādat-yār is not said, nor whether the last name on the list, Salima Khānam, is that of a child of Gul-badan, as well as of Khizr Khwāja Khān Here some of the inconveniences of polygamy show themselves to the seeker after family facts

An old associate of our princess accompanied her in the person of Gul-nār *aghācha*, who had been of Bābar's household and was, I think, one of the two Circassians sent as a present to him by Shāh Tahmāsp in 1526 She was now well on her way through life and considerably older than Gul-badan Begam Another of the party had also been of Bābar's household, Bibī Sarū-qad, or Sarū-i-sahī (Straight Cypress) She had been, too, in Humāyūn's service and later had married, with full *nusbat*, Mu'nūm Khāñ-i-khāñān She was a widow, had been a singer and reciter, and was a 'reliable woman.' Like her in accomplishments were Bibī Safiya and Shāham *aghā*, both formerly of Humāyūn's household Of the first and of Bibī Sarū-qad we have the happy little record that they sang in the moonlight on the road to Laghmān in 1549

Fathpūr-sikri seems to have been the rallying-point of the caravan and October 15th, 1575, the day of departure from it It started earlier than was usual, perhaps because the ladies could not travel fast Caravans generally left Āgra in the tenth month—this left in the seventh—of the

Muhammadan year Akbar's second boy, Murād, was told off to escort the ladies to the coast. Sālim met them one stage out to give last greetings. At Gul-bādan's request, Murād was excused from his long task of escort to Sūrat, and he went back to Āgra. One smiles to find that the princes were five and four years old. The real charge of the caravan was with several amirs, one being Muhammad Bāqī Khān *Lūla*, and another Rumi Khan of Aleppo, who may have been Bihir's artillery officer.

It is a real loss that there is no record of the journey from our begam's pen. It was to be adventurous, even perilous, and it was of great interest whether as sightseeing travel or pious duty. Surat was the port of embarkation, but there are no details of the road taken to reach it. Father Rudolf Acquaviva passed between the same two terminal points in 1580, but the military movements of the interval may well have allowed him to travel where the ladies could not go. When they were first in Surat, it had been a royal possession for two years only, and even when the Father took the fairly direct route from it to Fathpūr-sikri, the Rajput peasantry was in arms against their new lord. The ladies were probably handed on from one garrisoned place to another as the immediate circumstances of conquest dictated. The main body of their *hai* joined them by a tedious and weary route, first escorted through Goganda by the army which was on active service, and then passing on to Ahmadabad, and, perhaps by water, to Sūrat.

The governor of the port, who was to have a good deal of trouble with this caravan, was Qulj Khān *Indyānī*, a sobriquet of pleasant sound in our begam's ears. He had inherited Timurid service from many generations, and his father had been a grandee of Sultan Husain *Bāygīā*.

'There was peace with the isles of the Franks,' but it took the ladies a year to get to sea. The *Akbar-nāma* attributes some part of the delay to a foolish panic about the Firingis which, after the ladies had embarked in their hired Turkish transport, the *Salīmī*, seized the other

pilgrims who were to sail in the royal ship, the *Ilahī*. The real ground appears to have been want of a pass. The Portuguese were then masters of the Indian waters, and no ship might dare to put to sea without toll paid and pass obtained. Alarm about the Portuguese was natural, for there were stories that the very pass was sometimes a letter of Bellerophon enjoining capture and death. Abū'l-fażl says that, although the ladies embarked, they were unwilling to put out and desert their fellow-pilgrims. This may be mere broidery, or the one ship may have had a pass and the other not. Perhaps, too, as theirs was a hired transport, it was also one privileged to sail free. However this may be, Badāyunī makes the difficulty clear by saying that Khwāja Sultān's ships lay idle from want of the pass. He also, it may be added, quotes a legal opinion that at this time it was not lawful to make the *haj* from India because, of the two practicable routes, one lay through the Shiah country of 'Irāq, and the other obliged a pass which bore the idolatrous stamp of the heads of the Virgin Mary and of Jesus Christ ('on whom be peace').

The *mīr haj* sent word to the Emperor of his plight, who at once despatched orders to Qulīj Khān, in Īdar, to go to Sūrat and arrange the difficulty. Qulīj took with him a Cambayan, who was presumably a man versed in seafaring business,—hurried to Sūrat and overcame the difficulty.

It took the ladies a year to get to sea, they sailed on October 17th, 1576. Their port of debarkation is not mentioned, some pilgrims sailed by the Arabian, some by the Persian Gulf. They spent three and a half years in Aīabia, and were able to make the *haj* four times.

Some day perhaps a pious and enlightened Musalmān will set down the inner meaning he attaches to the rites of the pilgrimage. How interesting it would have been if our princess had told us what it was in her heart that carried her through the laborious duties of piety she accomplished during her long stay in her holy land! She might have given us an essential principle by which to interpret the

religious meaning which devout women attach to the rites commanded on the pilgrimage

The visitation duties are set down in Hughes' 'Dictionary of Islam,' where even their brief recital is attractive and adds to the wish of gauging the sentiment of believers in their esteem. The acts prescribed are exhausting, not only to the body but also, one thinks, to the mind, because the very conception of the pilgrimage as a Divine ordinance keeps brain and heart tense, as all obedience does which sets the human will parallel to the Divine.

The mere recapitulation of the prescribed ceremonies is impressive. The halt six miles from the city to put on the seamless wrapper (*ihram*), the chanting of the pilgrim song, the prayer of intention and of supplication for grace to make the visitation duly the contemplation touch, and salutation of the mystic black stone, the sevenfold encompassment of the *laba*, towards which from distant homes has been directed the prayer of the bygone years, the ascent of the Mount of Purity (*Safa*), and prayer and confession of faith upon it, the race seven times repeated from its summit to that of the Mount of Marwa, the common worship in the Great Mosque, and the sermon preached to the assemblage of common believers, the various pilgrimages and prayers of the eighth and ninth days, and on the tenth the extraordinary pelting of devils, which is symbolized by the patriarchal rite of the stoning of the pillars of Mina. Later in the same day occurs the final act of the *hal*, an animal sacrifice. Whether the ladies could pay a substitute to perform this is not said.

During these ten busy days the seamless wrapper is worn, after the sacrifice it is laid aside, and attention may be paid to the neglected toilette. The pilgrim stays three days longer in Makka—days of the 'drying of the blood of sacrifice,' 'three well-earned days of rest after the peripatetic performance of the last four.' Still, all is not finished, there should be more circuits of the *laba*, another stoning at Mina, and a draught drunk from the sacred well. Our princess would certainly do everything

which was due, and probably would go to Medina, and she would also make visitation to the tombs of many pious persons buried in the desirable soil of Arabia

In 1579 Khwāja Yahyā was *mīr haj*, a friend of Badāyunī, and the charitable man to whom Husain the Patcher (*tukriya*) was indebted for decent burial. He was commissioned to escort the ladies home, and also to bring back curiosities and Arab servants,¹ who may perhaps have been wanted for the Arab *sarāī*, established near the mausoleum of Humayūn, outside Dihlī.

The return journey was both adventurous and perilous. They were shipwrecked off Aden, and had to stay, some say seven, others twelve, months in that desolate spot, fai less habitable then than now, with condensed water, a tide from the Suez Canal, occasional rain, and the British *rāj*. The governor did not behave well, and quitted the path of good manners, misconduct for which he was punished by his master, Sultan Muīād of Turkey. One pleasant incident broke the gloom of the long delay. On a day of April, 1580, the rock-bound travellers saw a ship coming up from the south with the wind, and, wishing to know whose it was, sent a boat out to make inquiry. By a pleasant chance Bāyazid² *bīyāt* with his wife and children were on board, and he shortened sail, though the wind was favourable, and gave and took news. Bāyazid says that the persons who sent out the boat to him were Gul-badan Begam, Gul-'izāī Begam, and Khwāja Yahyā. Perhaps

¹ The passage in the *Akbar nāma* about these servants is in its author's later and difficult style. This led to mistake in my article of the *Calcutta Review*, April, 1898. I referred a difficulty the khwāja experienced to the ladies, whereas it was the servants who were unwilling to leave their Arabian domicile. Several other errors of that article are corrected in this book.

² His wife and a child died in Arabia, he wished to end his days on the sacred soil, and so sent home his other children. His wish also was to be laid beside his wife, and he tried her grave for several hours to see that it was neither too narrow nor too short. Happily for his readers, he did not stay in Arabia. His children were captured by the Portuguese, and he had to go back to their rescue. He sailed in 1582, but had long to wait in Mocha harbour for a wind, and this, with other delays, kept him eight months on board.

the Emperor would refuse nothing to the Father,' and the family was carried off to freedom

The next thing known of our princess is that she wrote her *Humāyūn nāma*. The book is its sole witness, for no one speaks of it. It is not literature, but a simple setting down of what she knew or had heard, for the help of the *Akbār-nāma*. This was not her only composition, for she followed the fashion of her day and wrote verses. Mīr Mahdī Shīrāzī has preserved in his *Tazkiratu l-khuatīn* two lines of hers, in which her thought seems to be, 'No love, no fruit of life'

"*Har pari ki au bā 'ashaq khud yār nīst,*
Tū yaqīn mīdān ki hech az 'umr bar khur dār nīst"

Nine copies were made of Bayazid's *Humāyūn-nāma*, which was written in obedience to the royal command obeyed by Gul-badan Begam and also by Jauhar the Ewer-bearer. Of these two went to the Emperor's library, three to the princes Sālim, Murād, and Danyal, one to our begam, two to Abū'l-fazl, and one perhaps was kept by the author. This allotment brings out the little point that Gul-badan collected books. Badāyunī has a curious passage about himself which also discloses something 'bookish' of Salīma. 'On account of the book *Khuad-afza*, which had disappeared from the library, and concerning Salīma Sultān Begam's study of which the Emperor reminded me, an order was issued that my allowance should be stopped, and that they should demand the book of me.' He adds that Abū'l-fazl did not lay his refutation before the Emperor, and he does not clear up the awkward doubt as to what he had done with Salīma's desired book.

The remaining records of Gul-badan Begam's life are few and scanty. When she was seventy, her name is mentioned with that of Muhammad-yāī, a son of her daughter, who left the court in disgrace, again, she and Salīma join in intercession to Akbar for Prince Sālim, again, with Hamīda, she receives royal gifts of money and jewels. Her charities were large, and it is said of her that she added day unto day

in the endeavour to please God, and this by succouring the poor and needy. When she was eighty years old, and in February, 1603, her departure was heralded by a few days of fever. Hamida was with her to the end, and it may be that Ruqaiya, Hindal's daughter, would also watch her last hours. As she lay with closed eyes, Hamida-banu spoke to her by the long-used name of affection, 'Jin' (elder sister). There was no response. Then, 'Gul badan!' The dying woman unclosed her eyes, quoted the verse, 'I die,—may you live!' and passed away.

Akbar helped to carry her bier some distance, and for her soul's repose made lavish gifts and did good works. He will have joined in the silent prayer for her soul before committal of her body to the earth, and if no son were there, he, as a near kinsman, may have answered the Imām's injunction to resignation. 'It is the will of God.'

So ends the long life of a good and clever woman, affectionate and dutiful in her home life, and brought so near us by her sincerity of speech and by her truth of feeling that she becomes a friend even across the bars of time and creed and death.

PART II

GUL BADAN BEGAM'S BOOK, THE HUMAYUN-NAMA

It is not generally known to English students of the (so-called) Mughal period of Indian history that Gul badan Begam wrote a book. It was not known to Mr Eiskine, or he would have given fuller and more accurate accounts of the families of Bābar and Humāyūn. It escaped even Professor Blochmann's wider opportunities of acquaintance with Persian MSS. Until the begam's *Humāyūn-nāma* was catalogued by Dr Rieu, it was a literary *parda-nishīn*, and since that time has been little better. Abū-'l-fazl, for

whose information it was written, does not mention it, but the *Aḥbār-nāma* is not without indication of its use¹

Bāyazīd's *Tarīkh i-humāyūn* was reproduced several times on its completion Gul badan Begam's *Humāyūn-nāma* was written under the same royal order and for the same end It would have been natural to reproduce it also, but no second example of it can be discovered by us in any of the accessible book-catalogues of Europe or India, and prolonged search, made by advertisement, private inquiry, and in person by my husband in India, has failed to dis close knowledge of its existence which may not conjecturally be traced to my own work upon it Once hope arose that a second MS was to reward the search, because a correspondent intimated that he possessed for sale a MS which was inscribed as being the begam's On examination this was found to be so, but the MS was a copy of the *Kānūn i humāyūn* of Khwānd-amīn It is now in the British Museum

Hope was again aroused by a mention of Gul-badan's book in a recent work, the *Darbār-i-akbarī* of Shamsu-l-ulamā' 'Muhammad Husain āzād Mr Beveridge paid two visits to the author in Bombay, but could learn nothing from him He appeared mentally alienated, denied all knowledge of the work, and that he had ever written of it His reference may conjecturally be traced to my article in the *Calcutta Review* upon Gul-badan Begam's writings, and does not, unfortunately, appear to indicate access to a second MS

The MS from which I have translated belongs to the Hamilton Collection in the British Museum, and was bought in 1868 from the widow of Colonel George William Hamilton It is classed by Dr Rieu amongst the most remarkable of the 352 MSS which were selected for purchase out of the 1,000 gathered in by Colonel Hamilton from Lucknow and Dihlī It does not bear the vermilion

¹ A passage about Bābar (*Bib Ind*, edit I 87) closely resembles the begam's on the same topic, and a divergence, noted by Mr Erskine (Mems, 218 n) as made from Bābar's narrative by Abū'l-fażl, is made also by the begam

stamp of the King of Oude, so the surmise is allowed that it came from Dihli. It has been rebound (not recently, I believe), plainly, in red leather, and it is unadorned by frontispiece, margin, or rubric. Whether there has ever been a colophon cannot be said, the latter pages of the work are lost. The folio which now stands last is out of place, an error apparently made in the rebinding. Catchwords are frequently absent, and there are none on the last folio. There are blank fly-leaves, prefixed and suffixed, of paper unlike that of the MS.

The absence of a second MS., and, still more, the absence of mention of the work, seem to indicate that few copies ever existed.

Dr Rieu's tentative estimate of the date of the British Museum MS (seventeenth century) does not, I am counselled, preclude the possibility of transcription so late in the sixteenth century as 1587 (995 H.) onwards. It may be the first and even sole example.

Gul-badan Begam, as is natural, uses many Tûrkî words, and at least one Tûrkî phrase. Her scribe (who may be herself) does not always write these with accuracy, some run naturally from the pen as well-known words do, some are laboured in the writing, as though care had to be taken in the copying or original orthography.

Tûrkî was Gul-badan's native language, it was also her husband's, it would be the home speech of her married life. Persian was an accomplishment. These considerations awaken speculation. Did she compose in Persian? or in Tûrkî? That she read Tûrkî is clear from her upbringing and her references to her father's book. She has one almost verbal reproduction of a passage from it retained in Tûrkî.

The disadvantage of working from a single MS. is felt at every point, and nowhere more than when the MS. itself is under consideration.

TRANSLATION

OF THE

HUMĀYŪN-NĀMA OF GUL-BADAN BEGAM

NOTE ON THE PERSIAN TITLES

Of these there are two

1 ‘*Humāyūn-nāma* Written by Gul-badan Begam, daughter of Bābar Pādshāh’ This is on the first fly-leaf, which is of paper differing in colour and texture from that of the body of the MS, and identical with that of four blank sheets which are bound up at the end of the MS, perhaps to allow of writing in the missing portion of the work.

2 ‘Accounts of Humāyūn Pādshāh Put together by Gul-badan Begam, a daughter of Bābar Pādshāh and a paternal aunt of Akbar Pādshāh’ This stands on the first folio of the MS, which by the original paging is folio 10, and by the British Museum marking folio 2 (*a*)

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

There had been an order¹ issued, 'Write down whatever you know of the doings of *Firdaus-makānī* and *Jannat-ashyānī*'²

At the time when his Majesty *Firdaus-makānī* passed from this perishable world to the everlasting home, I, this lowly one, was eight³ years old, so it may well be that I do not remember much. However, in obedience to the royal command, I set down whatever there is that I have heard and remember.

First of all, by way of invoking a blessing (on my work), and in pious commemoration, a chapter (*juzū*) is written about my royal father's deeds, although these are told in his memoirs⁴

¹ Probably that mentioned by Abū'l fazl, as issued for the gathering in of material for the *Akbar nāma* (H. Beveridge, I 29). If so, the begam's book dates from about 1587 (995H). There are indications of its use by Abū'l fazl.

² Bābar and Humayūn's posthumous names, 'Dwelling and 'Nesting in Paradise'. Several women, and notably Akbar's mother, have been named after death *Maryam makānī*, 'Dwelling with Mary'. Bābar's half sister, Shahr bānū, is styled by A F. *Bilqis makānī*,—Bilqis being the Queen of Sheba. Many other examples might be quoted of the custom which, amongst some savage tribes, takes the extreme form of total suppression at death of the name borne in life, and towards which affection and reverence incline the most civilized peoples.

³ Lunar years. Bābar died December 26th, 1580. The begam's dates and numerical statements must always be taken lightly.

⁴ From this treasury Gul badan's meagre historical sketch can be

From his Majesty *Sâhib-qânnî*¹ down to my royal father there was not one of the bygone princes who laboured as he did.² He became king in his twelfth³ year, and the *khutba*⁴ was read in his name on June 10th, 1491,⁵ in Andijân, the capital of Farghâna (3a)

For eleven full years his wars and struggles against the Chaghatai and Timûrid and Uzbeg princes⁶ in Mâwarâ'u-n-nahr (Transoxiana) were such that the tongue of the pen is too feeble and weak to recount them

The toils and perils which in the ruling of kingdoms befell our prince, have been measured out to few, and of few have been recorded the manliness, courage and endurance which he showed in battle-fields and dangers. Twice he took Samarqand by force of the sword. The first time my royal father was twelve years old, the second nineteen, the third time he was nearly twenty-two.⁷ For six months he was besieged⁷ (in Samarqand), and neither Sultân Husain Mirzâ Bâyqrâ, his paternal uncle,⁸ who

filled in. The *Tuzuk-i-Bâbâri* (Leiden and Erskine Longman, Rees, etc., 1826) will be referred to in these notes as the 'Memoirs' or 'Mems'. Mr W. Erskine's 'History of India under Bâbar and Humâyûn' will be indicated by 'B & H'.

¹ Lord of the fortunate conjunction, i.e., of Jupiter and Venus, a posthumous title of Timûr (1336-1405), from whom Bâbar was fifth in descent.

² Bâbar was born February 14th, 1483 (Muhamram 6th, 888H). He therefore became king of Farghâna (Khokand) when 11½ years old.

³ The prayer and oration in which it is ordained that the name of the reigning sovereign should be recited. Cf. Diet. of Islâm, Hughes, s.v. The histories show that it was formerly so recited in India. The term 'Ruler of the Age' filled Victoria's place.

⁴ Ramân 5th, 899H [Text, 909H]

⁵ The first and second of this triad of foes were near and elder kinsmen, the third was the Shaibûni of the histories.

⁶ Bâbar occupied Samarqand three times. Twice he captured it, and the third time entered without a blow struck and amidst a popular welcome. The dates are respectively 1497, 1500, and 1511, and his age fifteen, seventeen, and twenty nine.

⁷ By Shaibûni, after the second occupation.

⁸ 'ammî Husain was of the fourth, and Bîbar of the fifth degree of descent from their common ancestor, Timûr. Bîbar's father is as (anglice) Husain's fourth cousin. As Husain was of an older generation, Bîbar calls him 'uncle'. If 'ammî were ever used to denote an uncle by marriage, it would have triple application here, since Husain married in succession three paternal aunts of Bîbar—Shâhr

| | |
|------|--------------|
| لشکر | نام و مان در |



AMĪR TĪMŪR (SHIB QILĀN)

(ruled) in Khurāsān, nor Sultān Mahmūd Khān, his maternal uncle,¹ who ruled in Kāshghai, sent him help. When none came from any quarter, he grew desperate.²

At this difficult time, Shāhī Beg Khān³ sent to say ‘If you would marry your sister Khānzāda Begam⁴ to me, (3b) there might be peace and a lasting alliance between us.’ At length it had to be done, he gave the begam to the khān, and came out himself (from Samāqand).⁵ With 200 followers on foot, wearing long frocks on their shoulders and peasants’ brigades on their feet, and carrying clubs in their hands,—in this plight, unarmed, and relying on God, he went towards the lands of Badakhshān (Badakhshānāt) and Kābul.⁶

Khusrau Shāh’s⁷ people and army were in Kunduz and the Badakhshānāt. He came and paid his respects to his Majesty,⁸ my father, who, being as he was manly and kind and generous, did not in any way touch the question of retaliation, although Khusrau Shāh had committed such crimes as the martyrdom of Bayasanghar Mīrzā and the blinding of Sultān Mas‘ūd Mīrzā, both of whom were sons of my royal father’s paternal uncle. In addition to this, when in the early days of the forays,⁹ his Majesty chanced

bānū, Latīf and Pavanda Husain is the well known Mæcenas of Herāt (1498–1506).

¹ *taghārī* Sultān Mahmūd Khān was full brother of Qutluq nūgār, Bābar’s mother, so that here *taghārī* is exactly equivalent to our ‘maternal uncle’. Mahmūd is ‘the Khān’ and the ‘elder Khān’ of the Memoirs, and also *Jānahār* or *Khānahār* and *Jāngār*. He was murdered by Shaibānī in 1508.

² He was eighteen.

³ Abū l-fath Muhammad Shāhbakht Khān *Uzbeg* (Shāhī Beg Khān and Shaibānī).

⁴ For details of her life and that of all other women named in this book and some other contemporary works, see Appendix.

⁵ Early in 907H (July, 1501).

⁶ Muharram, 910H (June, 1504).

⁷ A Qipchāq Turk, chief beg of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā, the father of Bayasanghar and Mas‘ūd. He was put to death by Shaibānī’s Uzbegs in 910H (1505).

⁸ Brevet rank. Būbar was an exile from his own kingdom of Farghāna, and not yet master of Kābul.

⁹ Türkī, *qazzāqī*, from *qazzāq* (Cossack) the name of the nomads whom the Russians term Kirghiz. I think Gul badan uses it to de-

to cross his country, he was watched and rudely driven out. Now he was pleased to command that Khusrau Shāh should take whatever his heart desired of his (own) jewels and golden vessels, and so he got leave to go to Khurāsān in kindness and safety, and took with him five or six strings of camels and five or six of baggage mules¹ (4a)

His Majesty now set out for Kābul, which was occupied by Muhammad Muqīm, a son of Zū'l-nūn Aīghūn, and grandfather of Nāhid Begam². He had captured it after Ulugh Beg Mīrzā's³ death from Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-azzāq, son of his Majesty's paternal uncle (Ulugh Beg).

His Majesty reached Kābul in safety. Muhammad Muqīm kept command for a few days, and then by pact and agreement made over charge to the royal servants, and went off with goods and chattels to his father in Qandahār. This was in the last ten days of Rabi II, 910H⁴. Being now master of Kābul, his Majesty went to Bangash, took it at a blow, and returned to Kābul.

Her Highness, the khānam,⁵ his Majesty's mother, had fever for six days, and then departed from this fleeting world to the eternal home. They laid her in the New Year's Garden. His Majesty paid 1,000 coined *misqal* to his kinsmen, the owners of the garden, and laid her there.

At this time urgent letters arrived from Sultān Husain Mīrzā, saying (4b) 'I am planning a war against the Uzbegs. It would be excellent if you came too.' My royal father

scribe the time of her father's military incursions, made when he was trying to carve out a ruler's seat.

¹ The begam's brevity makes Bābar's capacity and forbearance seem alike remarkable. He had gathered a force, and safety was the condition of Khusrau's surrender (1504). Mr Erskine writes (B & H, I 208) 'Bābar, whose abhorrence of Khusrau was as deep as it was just, ordered his treasurer to send back the treasure, horses, and whatever had been presented to him, just as they were, although, says our author (Mīrzā Haider), the King had only one horse suitable for a person of his rank, and that was used by his mother.'

² Through his daughter Nāh Chūchak.

³ A son of Abū sa'id, known as *Kābulī*. He died 1502.

⁴ October, 1504. Bābar was now twenty three, and had acquired more territory than his lost Farghāna.

⁵ Qutluq nigar. She died June, 1505.

in his council of God. At length he set out to join the merrā. On the way news came that the merrā was dead. His Majesty, however, represented that this being so, it was vain to return to Kibul but he replied, "As we have come so far we will carry our condolences to the prince." In the end he went on towards Khurām.¹

When the prince heard of the royal visit they one and all got out to receive him honourable meeting, except Badūzamān Mārā who did not go to meet Batandug Beg and Zul'num Pe, — sons of Sultan Hu'ayn Mārā — and in effect, due to His Majesty's age fifteen years younger than Badūzamān Mārā it was right that he should be the first to bow, and that they should then embrace one another. Qazīn Pe rejoined, "Younger he is by years, but by the way he has precedence because he has more than once ridden Sennāqād before of the sword." A. H., he they agreed that His Majesty should bow on coming in and that Badūzamān should then advance to show him honour and they should embrace. The merrā was not attending when His Majesty came in at the door. Qazīn Pe clutched my royal father's girdle and pulled it and said to Parandug Pe, and Zul'num Beg.

The agreement was that the merrā should come forward and that then they should embrace one another. The prince then advanced in great agitation and they embraced.

As long as His Majesty was in Khurām, each one of the princes showed him hospitality and feasts were arranged, and excursions to all the gardens and places of

¹ P. L. S. 10. 1 in June 1, 03 (Muharram 912H). Husayn had died in May (Zul-Hijja 911H) en route northwards from Herat and at P. b. H. b. Wad reached P. L. S. when he had already made a great part of the journey of the Sultan and Dardan chilān pass to Kādemār. After receiving the news he marched some 800 miles to the merrā camp on the Murākāb.

² Pākāzamān and Mu'minul Mu'assar Hu'ayn sons of Sultan Hu'ayn Mārā. The meeting was on November 6th, 103 (Jumāda II 6th 912H).

Pākāzamān's Prime Minister and (I believe) relation. He was of the Qochan tribe to which Bābā's grandmother Ais daulat, belonged.

³ The Poles of Chingār Khan. They are referred to again on points of etiquette.

interest They set forth to him the inconvenience of winter, and said 'Wait till it is over, and we will fight the Uzbegs' But they could not in any way settle about the war Eighty years¹ long had Sultān Husain Mīrzā kept Khūrāsān safe and sound, but the mīrzās could not fill their father's place for six months When his Majesty saw that they were careless² about his expenses and revenue, he went to Kābul on the pretext of seeing the places he had assigned to himself (5b) Much snow had fallen that year They took the wrong road His Majesty and Qāsim Beg chose one³ because of its shortness, but the amīrs had given other advice, and when this was not taken, they all left him without a thought for him He and Qāsim Beg and his sons made a road in two or three days by removing the snow, and the people of the army followed So they reached Ghūrbānd Some Hazāra rebels having met his Majesty here, there was fighting, and cattle and sheep and goods without number belonging to the Hazāra fell into the hands of his people Then they started for Kābul with their enormous booty

At the skirts of Mināi Hill they heard that Mīrzā Khān⁴ and Mīrzā Muhammad Husain Gūkhān⁵ had rebelled and

¹ A well rounded number Sultān Husain was born 842H (1488), and died 911H (1506) Bābar calls the joint kingship of his sons a strange arrangement and one never heard of, and quotes Sa'di's well-known couplet as applicable—'Ten dervishes can sleep on one rug, but one climate cannot hold two kings'

² While on the Murgh-āb, Bābar agreed to winter in Khurāsān, and he went with the joint-kings to Herāt in order to see the 'sights' of that renowned city He certainly worked hard, for he names some fifty-two which he saw in twenty days The invitation to winter was repeated, but neither quarters nor suitable conveniences (? revenues) were allotted Bābar delicately says he could not explain his real motive for not remaining, and left under pressure of necessity on December 24th, 1506, after snow had fallen along a route which was a month's ordinary journey

It was during this absence from Kābul that he married Māham, Humāyūn's mother

³ Through the Aimāq and Hazāra country, and south of his route to Herāt

⁴ Sultān Wais, a son of Bābar's paternal uncle, Mahmūd, and his maternal aunt (*i.e.*, his mother's half sister), Sultān Nigār Khānam

⁵ Father of Haidar Mīrzā Dughlāt, author of the *Tārīkh-i rāshidī* He married Khūb nigar, full sister of Bābar's mother

were holding Kabul. His Majesty sent a comforting and cheering letter (to his friends in the fort), and said 'Be of good heart! I too am here (i.e.) I will light a fire on the Hill of the Moon-faced Lady do you light one on the Treasury so that I may be sure you know of our coming. In the morning we will fall on the enemy you from that side and we from this.' But he had fought and won before the people of the fort came out.

Mir Akbar had himself in his mother's house—she was his Majesty's maternal aunt. Mirza Muhammad Husain was in his wife's house. She & his Majesty's younger maternal aunt. He flung himself down on a carpet and in fear of his life cried to a servant 'Fetch it up! His Majesty's people heard of this. They took him out of the carpet and led on him to the presence. In the end, his Majesty forgave the mistake of their offence for the sake of his aunts. Hence I too, ran in his old fashion in and out of his aunts' houses and showed them more and more affection, so that no mite of trouble might dim their hearts. He assigned them place and holding in the plain country (1)

God the most High having freed Kabul from the power of Mirza Khân, committed it to my royal father's care. He was then twenty three year old and had no child and greatly desired one. In his seventeenth year a girl had been born to him by Avisha Sultan Begum, a daughter of Sultan Ahmad Mirza but she had died in a month. The most high God blessed the tiling of Kabul, for after it eighteen children were born (1) Of my Lady *Ulam*⁴ who was Mihram Begum there were born His Majesty the Emperor

¹ *Text Dari Hukm Nizam*. This I do not understand as there verily is hardly no mother brother present in Kabul now.

He was twenty three which took Kabul from Muhammad Muqim Brâdar in 1791. Mirza Akbar's rebellion took place two years later.

I add here in the Glory of Women. She was my first child, and I've just met on. In a month, or forty days she went to the mercy of God. (Mem. 90)

⁴ Written sometimes *Ulm* and sometimes *Ulam*. The Turkî *Ula* is used as a title of respect from a junior to a senior. It has also the sense of elder brother which makes application to a woman doubtful.

Humāyūn, and Bāibūl Mīrzā, and Mīhr-jān (jahān) Begam, and Ishān-daulat Begam, and Fālūq Mīrzā¹

(2) Ma'sūma Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā, died in childbed The mother's name they gave to the daughter

(3) Of Gul-rukh Begam were born Kāmrān Mīrzā, and 'Askarī Mīrzā, and Shāh-rukh Mīrzā, and Sultān Ahmad Mūzā, and Gul-'izā Begam

(4) Of Dil-dār Begam were born Gul-rang Begam, and Gul-chihā Begam, and Hindāl Mīrzā, and Gul-badan Begam, and Alwar Mīrzā²

In short, in taking Kābul he got a good omen All his children were born there except two begams who were born in Khost, viz., Mīhr-jān Begam, a daughter of Māham Begam, and Gul-rang, a daughter of Dil-dār Begam (7a)

The blessed birth of the Emperor Humāyūn, the first-born son of his Majesty *Firdaus-makānī*, occurred in the night of Tuesday, Zū'l-qādā 4th, 913H (March 6th, 1508), in the citadel of Kābul, and when the sun was in the sign Pisces

That same year his Majesty was pleased to order the amirs and the rest of the world to style him emperor (*bādshāh*) For before the birth of the Emperor Humāyūn he had been named and styled Mīrzā Bābar All kings' sons were called mīrzās In the year of his Majesty Humāyūn's birth he styled himself *bādshah*

They found³ the date of the birth in *Sultan Humāyūn Khān*, and also in *Shāh-(i)-fīroz-qadr*⁴

After children had been born to him, news came that Shāh Ismā'il had killed Shāhī Beg Khān⁵

(Cf Vambéry's 'Cagataische Sprach studien') Bābar uses the word (Mems 208), and Mr Erskine suggests to read 'My Lady'

¹ Born 1525, died 1527 His father never saw him

² Gul badan or her copyist does not balance accounts She says eighteen, and names sixteen children This may be a clerical error only

³ i.e., by *abjad* Cf Steingass' Persian Dictionary, s v *abjad*

⁴ 'The king, victorious in might'

⁵ At Merv, December 2nd, 1510 Cf B & H, I 802 On the removal of this formidable foe, Bābar again tried to regain his ancestral lands, but was still outmatched by the Uzbegs Defeat by them led him to take a road of less resistance through Bajaur to Hindūstān

bring men and labourers, etc., to your native land and cultivate it'

Qāsim Beg,¹ who was in Kābul, sent a letter saying 'Another prince has been born I have ventured to write as an omen of the conquest of Hind and of taking its throne As for the rest, the Emperor is master, whatever is his pleasure'² (let it be done) In an auspicious hour his Majesty named him Mīrzā Hindāl

Having subdued Bajau, his Majesty went towards the Bhīa country, and on his arrival made peace without plundering He took four *laks* of *shāhi ukhīs*³ and gave to his army, dividing them according to the number of his followers He then set out for Kābul⁴

Just now came a letter from Badakhshān saying 'Mīrzā Khān is dead,⁵ Mīrzā Sulaimān is young, the Uzbegs are near, take thought for this kingdom lest (which God forbid) Badakhshān should be lost' (sb) Until there should be thought taken, Mīrzā Sulaimān's mother⁶ had brought him (to the Emperor) Agreeably to this petition and their wish, the Emperor assigned to Mīrzā Sulaimān the lands and inheritance which had been his father's, and he gave Badakhshān to Mīrzā Humāyūn

The mīrzā set out for his province His Majesty and my Lady (*Akhām*) followed and also went to Badakhshān, and there spent several days together The mīrzā remained

¹ Qāsim Beg *Qūchīn*, an ancient Beg of Andijān, and one of Bābar's best followers

² Qy, as to the child's name His true name was Muḥ Nāṣir, but he is only known as Hindāl He was Gul badan's full brother, and was given, before birth, to Māham Begum, who had lost all her children younger than Humāyūn Cf 24a n

³ Estimated by Mr Erskine at about £20,000 sterling

⁴ End of February, 1519 In his winning fashion Bābar relates that he forbade the news of his return to be taken to Kābul, and that there was therefore no time to put his boys, Humāyūn and Kāmrān, on horseback, and that they were carried out in the arms of the nearest servants to offer their duty on his return, to a place between the fort gates and the citadel

⁵ Cir 926H (1520) Cf Moms 286 n, and *Tār Rāsh*, Ney Elias and Ross, 878 n

⁶ Sultān Nigār Khānum

nurses and foster-brethren and ladies, and to all who pray for me' The gifts were made according to the list

Three happy days they remained together in the Audience Hall Garden They were uplifted by pride, and recited the *satiha*¹ for the benediction and prosperity of His Majesty, and joyfully made the prostration of thanks²

The Emperor sent by Khwāja Kīlān a large *ashrafī*,³ which weighed three imperial *śiñ*, that is, fifteen *śiñ* of Hind, for 'Asas'. He said to the Khwāja 'If 'Asas asks you, "What has the Emperor sent for me?" say, "One *ashrafī*,"' as there really was only one 'Asas was amazed, and fretted about it for three days His Majesty had ordered that a hole should be bored in the *ashrafī*, and that 'Asas should be blindfolded and the *ashrafī* hung round his neck, and that then he was to be sent into the *haram*. The hole was bored and the *ashrafī* hung round his neck He was quite helpless with surprise at its weight, and delighted and very, very happy He took it in both hands, and wondered over it and said, 'No one shall get my *ashrafī*' Each begam, too, gave (? him) ten or twelve *ashrafī*, so he had seventy or eighty (11a)

After Khwāja Kīlān Beg had started for Kābul, the Emperor made gifts in Agra to his Majesty Humāyūn and

¹ The first chapter of the Qurān

² In this prostration the forehead touches the ground

³ Perhaps from the Lodi treasury (*Cf. J A S B Proceedings*, 1888, Thomas, 423, Richardson's Ar & Per Diet, s v *sikka*, Memoirs of the Mughal Empire, Jonathan Scott, 8 and 8 n.)

⁴ *Lai n night guard* The words preceding 'Asas offer much difficulty They may be read *ba 'ammū*,—to the paternal uncle of 'Asas But the story is of Asas, the night guard and not of his uncle Perhaps '*ammū* is a clerical error for '*amah*, bewilderment, misleading, and this would suit the story well Mr Beveridge has suggested to me to read '*Umarī*, i.e., an old servant of 'Umar Shaikh This, too, would be appropriate, for the victim of the hoax is clearly an old man

The title 'Asas is applied several times by Bibar One 'Asas was a boon companion and partook of Bibar's vow before the battle of Khānwa (Mems 283 and 354, Firishta, Pers Text, Briggs I 449) Gul badan names one (20b) as entrusted with the care of Bibar's tomb,—Muḥ 'Alī 'Asas I think he was brother to Mīrān Begam, and the governor of Kābul whom Kāmīrīn murdered in 1547

to all the mīrzās and sultāns and amīrs He sent letters in all directions, urgently saying, 'We shall take into full favour all who enter our service, and especially such as served our father and grandfather and ancestors If such will come to us, they will receive fitting benefits Whoever there may be of the families of *Sāhib qirān* and Chingīz Khan, let them turn towards our court The most High has given us sovereignty in Hindūstān, let them come that we may see prosperity together'

Seven¹ daughters of Sultan Abū-saīd came (to Hindūstān) Gūhar-shād Begam, and Fakhr-jahān Begam, and Khadīja Sultan Begam and Badi u-l-jamāl Begam, and Āq Begam, and Sultan Bakht Begam

(Also) Zainab Sultan Khanam, daughter of his Majesty's maternal uncle, Sultan Mahmud Khan, and Muhibb Sultan Khānam,² daughter of *Ilācha Khan* (Ahmad), his Majesty's younger maternal uncle.

In short, all the begams and khanams went, ninety-six persons in all, and all received houses and lands and gifts to their heart's desire (11b)

All through the four years that (my father) was in Āgra he used to go on Fridays to see his paternal aunts One day it was extremely hot, and her Highness my lady (*khām*) said, 'The wind is very hot, indeed, how would it be if you did not go this one Friday? The begams would not be vexed' His Majesty said, 'Māham! it is astonishing that you should say such things! The daughters of Abū-saīd Sultan Mīrzā, who have been deprived of father and brothers! If I do not cheer them, how will it be done?'

To the architect, Khwāja Qāsim, his Majesty gave the following order 'We command a piece of good service from you It is this whatever work, even if it be on a great scale, our paternal aunts may order done in their

¹ Six only named

² Wife of Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt, the historian

palace, give it precedence, and carry it out with might and main'

He commanded buildings to be put up in Āgra on the other side of the river,¹ and a stone palace to be built for himself between the *haram* and the garden. He also had one built in the audience court, with a reservoir in the middle and four chambers in the four towers. On the river's bank he had a *chaukandi*² built (12a)

He ordered a tank made in Dholpur, ten by ten,³ out of a single mass of rock, and used to say, 'When it is finished, I will fill it with wine.' But as he had given up wine before the fight with Rānā Sangā, he filled it with lemonade

A year after Sultān Ibrahīm's death, the rānā⁴ appeared from the Mandū (or Hindū) side with a countless host Amīrs and rājas and rānās, every one of those who had come earlier and paid duty to his Majesty, now became an enemy and went and joined the rānā, until Kūl-jalālī and Sambhal and Rāpi—every *pangana*,—and rāis and rājas and Afghāns became hostile. Nearly two *laks* of cavalry assembled

At this time, Muhammad Sharif, the astrologer, said to the royal soldiers, 'It would be best for the Emperor not to fight, for the constellation *Sakhriz Yıldız* (Eight Stars) is opposite.' Amazing perturbation fell upon the royal army. They became exceedingly anxious and troubled,⁵ and showed signs of cowardice (12b). When his Majesty saw his army

¹ i.e., opposite the fort

² 'A building on the roof which has a door on each of the four sides' Vullers, 602. Badāoni uses *ghurfa*, upper room, as an equivalent Cf. Elliot's History of India, V 347 and 503

³ About 20 feet by 20 feet (Mems 399 n.)

⁴ This decisive battle was fought on March 16th, 1527, on the skirts of the hill of Sikri, at Khinwa. Akbar's *prænomēn* of Fathapūr—the City of Victory—was given to Sikri in 1573 to commemorate the Gujrat campaign

⁵ When the fight had been won, Bibar soundly rated Muhammad Sharif, gave him money, and dismissed him to the place from which he had emerged, apparently only to cause trouble. He had come to India with a royal kinsman from Kabul, and to Kabul in 1519 from Khost (Māham's home)

in this state, he thought over the whole position As the enemy was close at hand, this device occurred to his blessed mind, he ordered the remnant of what remained over and above deserters and enemies, to gather together One and all came—amirs and khans and sultans, plebeian and noble, low and high Then he addressed them, and said ‘Do you not know that there lies a journey of some months between us and the land of our birth and our familiar city? If our side is defeated, (God preserve us from that day! God forbid it!) where are we? where is our birthplace? where our city? We have to do with strangers and foreigners It is in every way best for each man to set resolutely before himself the two alternatives if we win, we are avengers of the cause of God, if we lose, we die martyrs In either fate is our salvation, each is a step and upward stage in greatness’

To this they all agreed They swore by the divorce of their wives and on the Holy Book, they recited the *fatiha*, and said, ‘O King! God willing, we will not spare ourselves in sacrifice and devotion, so long as there are breath and life in our bodies’¹ (13a)

Two days before the battle his Majesty renounced wine, and, indeed, he forswore all forbidden things Following his example, 400 young men of name, who had given proof of manliness and one-mindedness and friendship, also renounced these things when he did His Majesty broke up all forbidden utensils,—vessels of gold and of silver, goblets and flasks, etc , and he gave them to the poor and needy

He also sent abroad *firman*s with the announcement ‘We exempt (you) from all dues and octroi and tithe on corn, and from all illegal imposts, so that no one, trader or

¹ Mr Erskine thus gives Bābars words ‘Every man dies God only survives unchangeable He who comes to life’s feast must drink the parting cup of death How much better to die with honour than to live with infamy!’

Perhaps, as Gul badan says, Bābar touched also the thought of home, and this would be recorded by the woman.

other, may be hampered in his comings and goings, but all may move unmolested and free from interference'

In the night¹ before the battle word was brought that Qāsim Husain Sultān,—a grandson of Sultān Husain Mirzā through a daughter, 'Āyisha Sultān Begam,—had come to within ten *kōs* (of the royal camp) on his way from Khurāsān (13b)

This news delighted his Majesty greatly He asked, 'How many men are with him?' When he heard 'thirty or forty,' he at once sent off 1,000 troopers, all armed and equipped, at midnight, so that they might march in again with Qāsim Husain Sultān, and in this way the enemy and outsiders be let know that reinforcements had come in good time Everyone who heard the plan thought it a good one

Next morning, which was March 16th, 1527 (Jumāda II [13th], 933H), his Majesty arrayed battle against Rānā Sangā on the skirts of the hill of Sikrī, where now Fathpūr has been built² and peopled By the Divine grace he was victorious and became an avenger of the cause of God³/

A year later my lady (*akam*), who was Māham Begam, came from Kābul to Hindūstān I, this insignificant one, came with her in advance of my sisters, and paid my duty to my royal father When my lady reached Kūl(-jalālī—i.e., 'Alighar), his Majesty had sent two litters with three horsemen (14a) She went on post-haste from Kūl to Āgra His Majesty had intended to go as far as Kūl-jalālī to meet her At evening-prayer time some one came and said to him 'I have just passed her Highness on the road, four miles out' My royal father did not wait for a horse to be

¹ Bibar says that Qāsim had come earlier and with 500 men Muḥ Sharif, the 'rascally fellow' and 'evil minded wretch,' was with him (Mems, 852)

² How beautifully built may, in small part, be seen by visiting the Oriental section of the South Kensington Museum and there examining the architectural reproductions, the drawings of Mr W B Carpenter, the photographs, etc The South Kensington Museum and the British Museum furnish numerous illustrations for Gul-badan Begam's MS, and add to it the charm of life and reality

³ Ghāsi Bābar now assumed this title, because he had vanquished non Muhammadans

saddled but set out on foot He met her near the house of Mīham's *nana-ha*¹. She wished to alight, but he would not wait and fell into her train and walked to his own house -

At the time of her meeting his Majesty, she desired me to come on by daylight and pay my respects to him

nine troopers, with two sets of nine horses and the two extra litters which the Emperor had sent, and one litter which had been brought from Kabul, and about a hundred of my lady's Mughal servants, mounted on fine (*tipūchaq*) horses,² all elegance and beauty

My royal father's Khalifa' with his wife Sultanam³ came as far as Naugrām⁴ to meet (us). My *māmās*⁵ had made me alight at the Little Garden and having spread a small carpet, seated me on it. They instructed me to rise when Khalifa came in, and to embrace him. When he came, I rose and embraced him. Then his wife Sultanam came in

¹ *dirje khāmīnācha Maham*. This might read in the advanced camp. Mīham's *nana-ha* appears three times in the MS here and at 18b and 26a. She is clearly of the innermost circle. The word may be rendered dear little mother, and is one of close affection.

² Cf. Mens. 123

³ *tuguz*. The Turks made large gifts by ones and attached superstitious reverence to the number.

⁴ A *tipūchaq* horse, according to Shaw, is long necked like a Turkman horse, and it seems also to be one with speed, beauty, and specially trained paces. Vaniberg says, 'ein fettes, guter Pferd.'

⁵ The above passage is inserted without break in the text and suggests transcription from an imperfect MS. It may be an enumeration of the items of the cortege which followed Mīham with Gul badan.

⁶ Syvid or Khwāja Nizāmu d-din Ali *Barlas* and Bibar's *zāvir*. His brother, Junaid *Barlas*, married Shahr bintū, a half sister of Bibar.

⁷ Clearly an intimate. There were close relations, as has been said, between this *Barlas* family and Bibar. Cf. Biographical Appendix, s.v. Sultanam.

⁸ Some four miles from Agra and on the east of the Jumna. The royal palace was not yet built on the western bank. Cf. Rūpūtīna Gazetteer, III. 271.

⁹ Steinäss translates 'mother, 'matron, and 'old women'. One *māmā* is named later, 'Fakhrū n nisī, mīmūnī (26a). She was the mother of Nadim Khwāja *Fūla*. She is several times mentioned, and it appears from a MS belonging to Colonel Hanna which Mr Beveridge has examined, that she was mother in law of the celebrated Mahām *anaga* who was Nadim's wife.

too (14b) I, not knowing, wished to get up, but Khalifa raised objections, and said 'She is your old serving-woman There is no need to rise for her Your father has exalted this old servant (? himself) by giving such an order¹ about him So be it! what power have slaves?'

From Khalifa I accepted 6,000 *shāhrulhīs* and five horses, and Sultānam gave me 3,000 and three horses Then she said 'A hasty meal (*mā hazarī*) is ready If you will eat you will honour your servants' I consented There was a raised platform in a pleasant spot, and a pavilion of red cloth with lining of Gujrātī brocade, and six canopies of cloth and brocade, each of a (differing) colour, and a square enclosure² of cloth with painted poles

I sat in Khalifa's quarters The meal drew out to almost fifty roast sheep,³ and bread and sherbet and much fruit Having at length eaten my breakfast, I got into my litter and went and paid my duty to my royal father (15a)

I fell at his feet, he asked me many questions, and took me for a time in his arms, and then this insignificant person felt such happiness that greater could not be imagined

When we had been in Āgra three months, the Emperor went to Dholpur Her Highness Māham Begam and this lowly person also went A tank had been made there, ten (*qaz*) by ten, out of one piece (of rock) From Dholpur his Majesty went on to Sikri He ordered a great platform made in the middle of the tank, and when it was ready, he used to go and sit on it, or to row about This platform still exists

They also made a *chaulandī* in the Sikri garden, and my

¹ (?) is that she should rise to greet him

² Text *chahār chūga i sarāyārda* Cf Notices et J straits, Quatre mire XIV 498

³ The 'fifty' sheep will not reduce by any reading I can suggest Cf anglicc 'heaps of,' 'hundreds of,' etc Perhaps the flock is a product of childish weariness recalled half a century later Possibly one should read *parīwār* five food-*i.e.*, courses dishes Gulbadan is now between five and six Her doubt as to the reception due to Sul tānam rings true and Khalifa's words suggest a little play acting to please the small traveller, he treated her like a grown up, and she tried to act one

royal father put up in it a *tūr Thana*,¹ where he used to sit and write his book.

I and Afghāni *āghācha* were sitting in the front of the lower storey when my lady went to prayers. I said to Afghāni *āghācha* ‘Pull my hand’ She pulled, and my hand came out. My strength went and I cried (1.b) Then they brought the bone-setter and when he had bound up my hand the Emperor went to Agra.

After his arrival word was brought that the begams were on the way from Kabul. My royal father went as far as Naugram to give honourable reception to my dearest lady (*alā rānām*), who was my oldest paternal aunt and my royal father’s eldest sister. All the begams who had come with her paid their duty to the Emperor in her quarters. They were very happy and made the prostration of thanks, and then set off for Agra. The Emperor gave houses to all the begams.

A few days later he made an excursion to the Gold-scattering Garden (*Bāgh-i-mī atshān*). There was a place in it for ablution before prayers. When he saw it, he said ‘My heart is bowed down by ruling and reigning, I will retire to this garden. As for attendance, Iahm the ewer-bearer will amply suffice. I will make over the kingdom to Humayūn.’ On this my lady (*alām*) and all his children broke down, and said with tears ‘God keep you in His own peace upon the throne many many years, and may all your children after you reach a good old age’ (1.a)

A few days later Alwar Mirza fell ill. His illness led to an affection of the bowels, which grew worse and worse in spite of all that the doctors could do, and at last he passed from this transitory world to the eternal home. His Majesty was very sad and sorry, and Alwar’s mother, Dil dar Begam, was wild with grief for the child, who was a

¹ ‘Perhaps a space enclosed by a low railing’ (Mems., 202 n.) Possibly and suitably, a mosquito room (*taur*, net). Cf. Khwānd amir B.M. Or 1,762, and Add. 30 774, ff. 25 114.

² The *Tūr-i-bābarf*

³ Khānzāda Begam

rarity of the world and unique of the age As her lamentation passed due bounds, his Majesty said to my lady and the begams 'Come, let us make an excursion to Dholpur' He himself went comfortably and pleasantly by water, and the begams also begged to go by boat

Just then there came a letter from Maulānā Muhammad Faighārī (Parghālī) in Dihlī, saying 'Humāyūn Mīrzā is ill and in an extraordinary state His Highness the begam should come at once to Dihlī, for the mīrzā is much prostrated'¹ (16b)

My lady was very much upset on hearing this news, and started for Dihlī, like one athirst who is far from the waters They met in Mathura To her experienced eye he seemed ten times weaker and more alarmingly ill than she had heard he was From Mathura the two, mother and son, like Jesus and Mary, set out for Āgra When they arrived, this insignificant one went with her own sisters to visit that royal angel of goodness

He was then growing weaker and weaker Every time he came to his senses, his pearl-dropping tongue asked for us, and said 'Sisters, you are welcome! Come, and let us embrace one another I have not embraced you' It might be three times that he raised his head and that his jewel-dropping tongue let fall these uplifting words

When his Majesty came and saw how it was, his light-revealing countenance at once became sad and pitiful, and he began more and more to show signs of dread (17a) On this my lady said 'Do not be troubled about my son You are a king, what griefs have you? You have other sons I sorrow because I have only this one'² His Majesty rejoined 'Māham' although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humāyūn I crave that this

¹ Cf *Bābar-nāma*, Ilminsky, 502 et seq., and P. de Courteille, II 457 et seq., where is one of the supplementary fragments included in Kehr's *Bābar nāma* (*Tūzuk*) and possibly taken from the Bukhārī MS (Cf Notes on the Turkī texts of the *Bābar-nāma*, A. S. Beveridge Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, July, 1900)

² All Maham's other children died in childhood

تصویر حالت پیاری تماز برآمده هایون سعی بایرانا



BALAR IN PRAYER, DEVOTING HIMSELF FOR HIS SON

cherished child may have his heart's desire and live long, and I desire the kingdom for him and not for the others, because he has not his equal in distinction'

During Humāyūn's illness¹ his Majesty walked round him and turned his face (in intercession) to his Reverence, Murtaza 'Alī Karīmu-l-lāh He kept up that going-round from the Wednesday and made intercession from the Tuesday, in anxiety and deep dejection The weather was extremely hot and his heart and liver burned While going round he prayed, saying in effect 'O God! if a life may be exchanged for a life, I who am Bābar, I give my life and my being for Humāyūn'²

That very day he fell ill, and Humāyūn poured water on his head, and came out and gave audience (17b) Because of his illness, they carried my royal father within, and he kept his bed for two or three months

As he grew worse, a messenger was sent to summon his Majesty Humāyūn, who had gone towards Kalinjar He came post-haste, and on paying his duty to the Emperor, noticed that he was very feeble Filled with compassion, he began to break down, and kept saying to the attendants 'How has he come to such a lamentable pass all at once?' He sent for the doctors, and said to them 'I left him well What has happened all at once?' They said this and that in reply

¹ The account of Bābar's self surrender which follows is somewhat puzzling to translate, but the sense is clear and the important statements are in accordance with other sources

² One of Kehr's (Innunsky's) 'fragments' (which, if it be not Bābar's own, it is not improbable was added to the *Tūzūk* by Jahāngīr) tells this story in Bābar's person After rejection of the suggestion to sacrifice for Humāyūn's life the great diamond (?) the *Koh-i-nūr*, the narrative continues (P. de C., II 460) 'J entrai dans la chambre où il se tenait, et je tournai trois fois autour de lui, en commençant par la tête et en disant, "J assume sur moi tout ce que tu souffres En même instant je me sentis tout alourdi, tandis que lui se trouvait léger et dispos Il se leva en pleine santé, et moi je m'affaissai, accablé de malaise

Faith in the rite of circumambulation still prevails in Persia Bābar it is clear, believed his devotion to have borne fruit (Cf. Hughes Dict. of Islām, s.v. Intercession For Karīmu-l-lāh, see Badāvūnī Bib. Ind. Text, III 191)

The whole time my royal father kept repeating ‘Where is Hindāl? What is he doing?’ Just at this time some-one came in and said ‘Mīr Bardī Beg, the son of Mīr Khurd Beg,¹ conveys his obeisance’ My royal father, full of agitation, sent for him at once and asked ‘Where is Hindāl? When will he come? What trouble waiting gives’ (18a) Mīr Bardī said ‘The fortunate prince has reached Dihlī, he will wait on you to-day or to-morrow’ On this my royal father said to Mīr Bardī Beg ‘Ill-fated little fellow! I have heard that they married your sister in Kābul, and you in Lāhōr² It is because of the wedding festivities that you have (not)³ sooner brought my son, and so my weary waiting has been very long’ He asked ‘How tall has Hindāl Mīrzā grown?’ and ‘What is he like?’ As Mīr Bardī was wearing one of the mīrzā’s dresses, he showed it and said ‘This is a robe of the prince which he bestowed on his servant’ His Majesty called him nearer and said ‘Let me see how tall and how big Hindāl has grown’⁴ He kept repeating, ‘Alas! a thousand times alas! that I do not see Hindāl,’ and asking everyone who came in ‘When will Hindāl come?’

During his illness, he laid a command on my lady, and said ‘Marriages ought to be arranged for Gul-rang Begam and Gul-chihra Begam (18b) When the royal aunt, my elder sister,⁵ honours me with a visit, tell her that I say it has occurred to me to give Gul-rang to Isān-timūr Sultān and Gul-chihra to Tūkhta-būghā Sultān’⁶

¹ Hindāl’s guardian from birth (1519-1580) He had previously been Bībar’s *bakāwal* (house steward). One of his sons, Khwāja Tābir Muhammād, served under Humāyūn and Akbar, and was *mīr farāqha* (master of comfort). He may be the Mīr Bardī (*qy* a child’s sobriquet, Master Full of-fun) of this episode. Tābir’s son, Bāqī, was a sewer, i.e., table-decker (*sufra chī*)

² Hindāl, with whom doubtless Mīr Bardī and his father were travelling, was on his way from Badakhshān to the court

³ The text has no negative

⁴ Hindāl was now about eleven years old, so Mīr Bardī must also have been a boy

⁵ Khānzāda Begam—*ača jānam*—dearest lady

⁶ Isān (Ishān, or Yussun) was the ninth, and Tūkhta būghā the tenth, son of Ahmad Khān, Bābar’s maternal uncle. They were uncles of Gul badan’s own husband, Khizr Khwāja

Dearest lady the smiling one,¹ came, and they said to her 'The Emperor spoke in this manner, and it has occurred to him in such a way. It now remains to know your pleasure. Let it be as you wish.' She said the same and 'God grant blessing and peace!' His idea is very good. My *chicha*² herself and Badi u l jamil Begam and Aj Begum, both of whom were paternal aunts of his Majesty, were conducted into the hall. Having raised an *estrade*³ and spread carpets and chosen a propitious hour Maham's *nana-ka* made both *sultans* bow the knee⁴ in order to exalt them to the rank of sons-in-law.

Meantime his Majesty's disorder of the bowels increased. The Emperor Humayun broke down again when he saw his father's condition worsen and called the doctors, and said to them 'I think it well over and find some remedy' (19a). Having consulted together, they said 'Small is our

¹ *tala sun I tra*

² This Turkish word presents great difficulty.

Vambery has *çici a kırkhi* mother and *chicha* aunt (inferentially maternal). Shaw *chicha* Ouziq mother. P. de Courteille *Diet çici a* an elder sister. The word has in Samirgand the meaning 'my elder aunt'.

It occurs again in the text (23a) and is used for Gulbadan's sisters, the brides of this page (19a), so that it may be right (spite of the singular number) to read 'my elder sisters themselves' — i.e., the brides. But it might be 'my mother'.

The word occurs at least once in the Memoirs (Ilm, 116, Irs. 987). It is preceded by one which Ilminsky writes *yanya* and Irskine *Bilch* (*Bega*). The letters of both words might be identical and the points only decisive. Shaw says *yanya* is an elder brother's wife. Vambery, *belle saur*, Schiragerin and Irskine (208 n.) bride-maid by which, I believe, is meant one who leads the bride to the bride-groom—an exactly appropriate use here since Habibi *yanya* brings her daughter Ma sumra to marry Bibar. (NB.—Shaw writes *yanya* and *chichā*, where Vambery and others have a final round *ha*.)

But if the *chicha* of Mems. 987 is to be read 'elder sister', Bibar can apply it only to Khānida Begam (elsewhere called by him *aulugh iqāñī* (Ilm, 116), and this would I believe make the reading of *Bilch* (*Bega*) difficult since *Khānida* could not be called anything less than *Khānam*. The same objection would apply to the reading of *chicha* as mother or as maternal aunt. This inclines one to read *yant a*, and not *bilch* at Mems. 987 and the *Zainab* of the sentence may be grand daughter (*nabīra*) through the female line of the *belle saur*, or *brides maid*, of *Khānzida* Begam. But nothing is clear as to the relationship.

³ Text *sufā dāda*. Perhaps, content was given to all but *sufā*, *estrade*, fits better with the following *barāt*.

⁴ *Zānū zānā īnda*, literally, 'striking the knee'. Mems., 204 n.

luck, for our remedies are of no avail. We hope that God, the most Holy, will soon give one from His invisible treasures.'

When they felt his Majesty's pulse, they came to the opinion that there were symptoms of the same poison as that given him by Sultan Ibrahim's mother. It was in this way that ill-fated demon (the mother) gave a *tola* of poison to one of her maids, and said 'Take this and give it to Ahmad the taster and tell him to put it in some way or other into the special dishes prepared for the Emperor.' And she promised him large rewards. The ill-fated demon did this although his Majesty used to call her "mother," and had assigned her place and lands with every favour, and had been kindly pleased to say 'Consider me as in the place of Sultan Ibrahim'¹. But as ignorance prevails amongst those people, she did not regard his kindnesses. The (fitting) hemistich is well known

'Everything reverts to its original type,
(Whether pure gold, or silver, or tin)'²

To cut short the story the cook (Heaven having made him blind and deaf,) spread the poison which had been brought and given to him, on the Emperor's bread only, and so little was eaten. But the symptoms of this illness were like that one's, seeing that day by day he lost strength and became more and more emaciated (*tab*). Every day the disorder increased and his blessed countenance changed.

Next day³ he called his chiefs together and spoke after this wise 'For years it has been in my heart to make over my throne to Humayun Mirza and to retire to the Gold scattering Garden. By the Divine grace I have obtained all things but the fulfilment of this wish in health of body. Now, when illness has laid me low, I charge you all to acknowledge Humayun in my stead. Fail not in loyalty

¹ Her son, who died fighting Bibar at Panipat

² Pers and Hind Proverbs, T' Roebuck, Calcutta, 1824, p 124, and Moms, 13

³ (?) after Humayun's arrival

to him Be of one heart and one mind with him I hope to God that Humayūn also will bear himself well towards men

'Moreover, Humayūn I commit to God's keeping you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people and all of these I confide to you'

At these words hearers and onlookers wept and lamented His own blessed eyes also filled with tears

When his family and the people within the *haram* heard of these occurrences they were stupefied and overwhelmed, and cried and lamented

Three days later he passed from this transitory world to the eternal home The death took place on Monday, December 26th, 1530 (Jumāda I 5th 937H) (201)

They brought out our paternal aunt¹ and our mothers² on the pretence that the doctors were coming to look All rose They took all the begums and my mothers to the Great House³

Black fell the day for children and kinsfolk and all They bewailed and lamented voices were uplifted in weeping, there was utter dejection Each passed that ill fated day in a hidden corner

The death was kept concealed After a time Araish Khān,—he was an amir of Hind,—said 'It is not well to keep the death secret, because when such misfortunes befall kings in Hindustan, it is the custom of the bazar people to rob and steal, God forbid that the Mughals not knowing, they should come and loot the houses and dwelling places It would be best to dress someone in red, and to set him on an elephant, and to let him proclaim that the Emperor Bibar has become a dervish and has given his throne to the Emperor Humayūn' This his Majesty Humayūn ordered to be done People were at once reassured by the proclamation, and all offered prayers for

¹ Khīnzida Begum

² Bibar's wives

³ Perhaps 'palace,' and the sense may be that they did not go to their separate residences but remained nearer to the dead

his welfare. On Friday, December 29th, 1580 (Jumāda I 9th, 937H), the Emperor Humāyūn mounted the throne, and everyone said 'May all the world be blessed under his rule' (20b)

After that he came to visit his mothers and sisters and his own people, and he made inquiry after their health and offered sympathy, and spoke with kindness and commiseration. He was pleased to order 'Let each keep the office, and service, and lands, and residence which he has had, and let him serve in the old way.'

On the same day Hindāl Mirzā, having come from Kābul, paid his homage to the Emperor, who received him with kindness, and was very happy, and bestowed on him many things from the treasures left by their father.

After my royal father's death, there were the good works and consecrated days of the first assembly¹ at his tomb.² His Majesty named Muhammad 'Alī 'asas³ its guardian, and ordered the appointment of sixty good reciters of the whole Qurān and readers with good voices, so that the congregational prayers might be said five times daily and the whole Qurān recited, and prayer offered for the soul of the royal dweller in Paradise (*Iudaus-mahāni*) (21a). The whole of Sikri—now known as Fathpūr—together with five *laks* charged on Bayāna, was given as an endowment to the

¹ *mārīa*. Lavery (Afghan Dict.) gives as the first meaning of this word 'a party of ambassadors, or persons sent to make peace between two tribes', and, secondly, as 'the business of making peace, or an arrangement between two tribes'. Lane and other writers render it 'battle field' and 'battle, etc.' Stengass adds 'hubhub turmoil (modern colloquial)'. Gul badan uses it for the common social assemblies she names, and here for the gathering of relations at a tomb.

² Bibar's body was laid first in the Rūm or Arūm Bugh (Gard n of Rest), on the opposite side of the river from the present *Taj mahāl*. Later it was taken to Kābul. Mr. Trelinc (B & M, I 517 *et seqq.*) quotes a charming passage from Burns' 'Travels in Balhār' (I 121 *et seqq.*), which describes Bibar's self-chosen resting place. He follows this by an eloquent estimate of Bibar's character which makes clear his regret in bidding farewell to the great and vivid personality he has so admirably set before his readers.

³ *zīr*, of the night guard. I believe he was the brother of Mādrū Begam.

makānī, Biban¹ and Bāyazīd advanced from the direction of Gaur On the news of this, his Majesty at once left Āgra and moved to meet them He defeated them, and then went to Chanāda (Chunār),² took it, and thence returned to Āgra

My lady, who was Māham Begam, had a great longing and desire to see a son of Humāyūn Wherever there was a good-looking and nice girl, she used to bring her into his service Maywa-jān, a daughter of Khadang (? Khazang), the chamberlain (*yasāwal*),³ was in my employ One day (after) the death of his Majesty *Firdaus mālānī*,⁴ my lady said ‘Humāyūn, Maywa-jān is not bad Why do you not take her into your service?’ So, at her word, Humāyūn married and took her that very night (22a)

Three days later Bega Begam⁵ came from Kābul She became in the family way In due time⁶ she had a daughter, whom they named ‘Aqīqa Maywa-jān said to Lady (*Aha*) Māham Begam, ‘I am in the family way, too’ Then my lady got ready two sets of weapons, and said ‘Whichever of you bears a son, I will give him good arms’ Then she packed up the arms, and got ready gold and silver walnuts She procured also the (special) arms of a Mughal commander, and was very happy, and

¹ Text, Bibban Biban and Bāyazīd were two distinguished Afghān chiefs and supporters of the fallen Lodi dynasty The defeat named here occurred at Daura, on the Gunti, 1581 (987H)

All who love the story of an adventurous life, chequered through character of individuals in a marked degree, should fill out Gul badan's brief narrative from Mr Erskine's life of Humāyūn

² 1532 (938H) Taken from Shīr Shāh late in 1532 (939H)

³ An attendant on a man of rank, who carries a gold or silver staff (Johnson, Pers Dict, s.v.) chamberlain in the service of Khāns of Türkistān (Zenker, s.v.) Gul badan's use of the word (81b) would allow a more extended sense

⁴ Text has also *dar hayāt khud* This is not the only instance of a similar redundant expression

⁵ Bega had had one son, Al amān She is known in the later histories as Hājī Begam, but she made her pilgrimage in 972H She was captured at Chausa in 1589 (946H) by Shīr Shāh, and most writers give her at this date the brevet title of Hājī It is probable that *Bega* was not her personal name It is the title of a lady of rank, and answers to *beg*

⁶ Text, *b'ad az yah sūl*, which, read literally, spoils the story

لیلیل بادشاہ کر خاں نو تیرہ بھری



THE EMPEROR HUMAYUN DIVVIT ISHLAM
(REIGNED IN 1558 A.D.)

with his sons, Ulugh Mirzā and Shāh Mirzā, made their escape a few days later.

There was perpetual disturbance from these people during the years we were in Hind.

When his Majesty returned from the campaign against Biban and Bāvāid, he was in Āgra¹ for about a year. He said to my lady 'I am sad at heart in these days. If you approve, I would go with you to Gualār'. Her Highness my lady and my mother (*ājam*),² and my sisters Ma-suma³ Sultan Begam, whom we used to call Elder sister Moon, and Gul rang Begam, whom we used to call Elder sister Rose,—we all were in Gualār in attendance on the beneficent ladies.⁴

As Gul-chihra Begam was in Oude, and her husband, Tūkhtī bughī Sultan, went to the mercy of God, her attendants wrote to his Majesty from Oude and said 'Tūkhtī bugha Sultan is dead (23b). What is the order about the begam?' His Majesty said to Mir Zaycha⁵ 'Go and bring the begam to Āgra. We also are going there.'

At this time her Highness my lady said 'If you approve, I will send for Bega Begam and Aqīqa, so that they also may see Gualār.' She despatched Naukār⁶ and Khwāja Kabūr, who brought them from Āgra.

¹ 'Occupied in dreamy speculations of false sciences'—i.e., astrology (B & H, II 14). The date is 1534 (911H).

² The histories tell us that the Gualār expedition was a military demonstration against Bahādur Shīh of Gujrat. Khwājā amīr fixes its date as Shābān 919H (February, 1533).

³ Taken as it is written this name might be charmingly translated as 'Ma desire,' but considered with other words in this text after which the euhetic *am* (my) is incorrectly written, it seems that prosaic 'my mother,' Tūrkī, *achām*, is safer. In favour, however, of reading *ājam*, desire, is the wording on 25b (No. 48 of the guest list), *ājam uālida i mā*, our mother. *Ājam* occurs also at 29b.

⁴ Her husband, Muhammad zamīn, is the rebel of this name just spoken of.

⁵ Chīcha, which I have rendered 'elder sister' to suit the actual relationship between Gul badān and her two sisters. Cf. 18b n.

⁶ The aunts, presumably.

⁷ The Chief Astrologer.

⁸ Bābur names this man as being sent from India in charge of gifts to Kābul (Mems, 337), and Gul badān names him again (67b) as guardian of the begams' doorway in the citadel of Kābul.

accompanied my mother¹ This will have been before he went to Guālīnā and began to build²

At the end of the mourning for my lady, his Majesty went to Dīhlī³ and began to build the fort of Dīn-pānā⁴ He then returned to Āgra

Dearest lady⁵ (Khānzāda Begam) said to his Majesty 'When will you make Mīrzā Hindāl's marriage feast?' His

que Humāyūn, soit un fils [*i.e.*, Bārbūl], cadet par rapport à lui, l'aîné par rapport à mes autres enfants et trois filles, dont l'une était Mihrjān, il n'y en avait pas un qui ne fût mort en bas age Je souhaitais vivement de lui voir naître un frère ou une sœur [*i.e.*, a child of Māham There were other children of other wives]

'Précisément à cette époque Dil dār āghācha se trouvait enceinte Je ne cessais de répéter, "Plut à Dieu que l'enfant qui va naître, sortit du même sein que Humāyūn!" A quoi ma mère [*sic* Türkī text, Ilmunsky, 271, *hazrat wālida*] me répondait, "Si Dil dār āghācha met au monde un fils, ne pourrais je pas le prendre et m'en charger?" "Rien de mieux," faisais je à mon tour

D'ordinaire les femmes ont la manière suivante de consulter le sort, quand elles veulent savoir si elles auront un fils ou une fille Elles prennent deux morceaux de papier, sur l'un elles écrivent, Ali ou Hasan, sur l'autre Fītūma, puis elles les placent dans deux boules de limon qu'elles mettent dans une coupe d'eau Celles des deux qui s'ouvre la première, leur sert à prognostiquer l'avenir, si elle renferme le nom d'un garçon, il y aura un garçon, si c'est celui d'une fille, il y aura une fille, disent-elles On employa cette méthode, ce fut un enfant mâle qui en sortit En recevant cette bonne nouvelle, j'écrivis aussitôt pour en faire part à ma mère [*sic*] Quelques jours plus tard, effectivement Dieu me donna un garçon Trois jours après sa naissance et avant de l'annoncer, on enleva l'enfant, bon gré, mal gré, à sa mère et on l'apporta chez moi où on le garda Lorsque j'en donnai avis à ma mère [*sic*], celle-ci apprenant qu'elle avait obtenu l'objet de ses vœux, donna au jeune prince le nom de Hindāl, qui était pour nous de bon augure Par cet arrangement cet enfant fut pour moi [? nous] à la fois un frère cadet (for Humāyūn) et un fils (for Māham and himself)

The words *hazrat wālida* cannot mean the mother of Bābar She had been dead some fourteen years They may be equivalent to *Sultān wālida*—*i.e.*, the mother of the heir apparent Certainly it was Māham who adopted Hindāl This initial misconception as to the identity of *Hazrat wālida* runs through the whole translation of this most interesting passage According to Gul badan, Fārūq (born in 932H.) was Māham's son Bābar names the birth (Mems, 348)

¹ *i.e.*, returned to her own mother's charge *i.e.*, Dil dār's

² An obscure passage Humāyūn was building about this time (Elliot, V 126)

³ Beginning of Zū'l hujja, 989H (June—July, 1588)

⁴ *Humāyūn nāma*, Khwānd amīr (Elliot, V 125)

⁵ Cf 15b n

5 Gūhar-shād Begam

6 Khadija Sultān Begam

Upon another cushion sat our paternal aunts, the sisters of his Majesty, *Fudaus-makānī*

7 Shahr bānū Begam

8 Yādgār Sultān Begam

(N.B.—Other guests of the right follow)

9 'Āyishā Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā

10 Ulugh Begam, daughter of Zainab Sultān Begam, a paternal aunt of his Majesty

11 'Āyishā Sultān Begam

12 Sultānī Begam, daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā, paternal (great-) uncle of his Majesty¹ and mother of Kīlān Khān Begam (25a)

13 Bega Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Khalil Mīrzā, paternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty

14 Māham Begam²

15 Begī Begam, daughter of Ulugh Beg Mīrzā *Kābulī*, paternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty

16 Khānzāda Begam, daughter of Sultān Mas'ūd Mīrzā, on her mother's side, grand-daughter of Payanda Muhammad Sultān Begam, paternal (grand-)aunt of his Majesty

17 Shāh Khānam, daughter of Badi'u-l-jamāl Begam (No 2)

18 Khānam Begam, daughter of Āq Begam (No 3)

19 Zainab Sultān Khānam, daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Khān, eldest maternal (grand-)uncle of his Majesty

20 Muhibb Sultān Khānam, daughter of Sultān Ahmad Khān,—known as Ilācha Khān, the younger maternal uncle of the elder³ Emperor (Bābar)

¹ The words used of Sultānī do not grammatically apply to 'Āyishā, but I believe she is also a daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā and is Bābar's first wife, who left him under the influence of an elder sister, perhaps Salīqa Sultān (Āq Begam). Salīqa married a son of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā, and may have acted under the evil impulses of the family quarrels which did so much to embitter, if also to stimulate, Bābar's early ambitions.

² This is not 'my lady,' whose death has been already recorded.

³ *kīlān*, perhaps, great

21. Khānīsh, sister of Mīrzā Hādar and daughter of (a) maternal (great-)aunt of his Majesty
 22 Bega Kīlān Begam¹
 23 Kichak Begam
 24 Shāh Begam, mother of Dīl-shād Begam, and daughter of Fakhru-jahān Begam (No 1), paternal (great-)aunt of his Majesty
 25 Kichakna Begam.
 26 Apūq (Āfāq) Begam, daughter of Sultān Bakht Begam (No 4)
 27 Mihi-liq (? Mihi-bānū) Begam, paternal aunt of his Majesty
 28 Shād Begam, grand-daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā, and daughter of a paternal aunt of his Majesty (? No 22)
 29 Mihr-angez Begam, daughter of Muzaflar (Husain) Mīrzā, and grandchild of Sultān Husain Mīrzā (25b) They had great friendship for one another (? Shād and Mihi-angez), and they used to wear men's clothes and were adorned by varied accomplishments, such as the making of thumb rings² and arrows, playing polo, and shooting

¹ Probably the daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā and mother of Shād Begam (No 28) by a son, Hādar, of Sultān Husain Mīrzā

² Text *zih giri tarashī*, which might be experimentally rendered carving thumb rings, a gentle art of the day But if *wa* be inserted, each word would represent a separate accomplishment of the well bred in knightly arts These would be congenial to a lady who played polo (*changōn*) Cf Bābar's account of Hādar's accomplishments (Ilmān sky, 14, Mens, 19, P de C, 22), and Hādar's own recital in his prologue to the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*

I suggest to take *tārashī* (a word not used by Bābar or Hādar) as equivalent to the fletchery (*aug*), or the 'making arrow heads' (*pailān*), of Bābar

Another possible reading has been suggested to me by Mr Beveridge —(a) *hikirī tarashī*, 'by cutting arrows' *Hikirī* is a Hindī name for cultivated reeds grown on low marshy grounds (Wilson's Glossary, s v, and Platt's Hindustāni Dict.) There is nothing improbable in Gul-badan's use of a Hindī word Arrows were fashioned from these reeds and men at-arms practised the art Gujrāt reeds were exported for arrows to Persia The omission of the *alif* of *az* is not infrequent in the MS

A few words on the *zih gīr* find fit insertion here It is a thumb ring worn on the right hand as a protection against the fret of the bow string both in drawing and release Persians, like the Japanese and Mongols and Chinese, drew with the thumb The *zih-gīr* is of eccentric

with the bow and arrow. They also played many musical instruments.

- 30 Gul Begum
- 31 Lang Begum
- 32 Khan ('Um) Begum
- 33 Afroz Banu Begum
- 34 Asha Begum
- 35 Faroz Begum
- 36 Barkat Begum

There were other begums, very many, adding up altogether to ninety six stipendiaries. There were also some others.

After the Mystic Feast (918 H.) came Mirza Hindal's wedding feast (Jauhar, 919 H.). Some of the begums already named went away,³ and (of those) some had sat at the right hand in that assembly (*i.e.*, the Mystic Feast).

Of our begums

- 37 Agha (Asha, --*parsum, ujha*), Sultan *aghâcha*, mother of Yâdgir Sultan Begum
- 38 Atâ'n mama
- 39 Salma
- 40 Sikma
- 41 Bibi Habiba

thickened and unequal width, elongating on one side into a tongue. This elongation lies along the inner side of the thumb, and points towards the thumb tip. In drawing the thumb crooks round the string, which pulls against the *zihqîr*. The arrow is released by straightening the thumb and the string then flies over the hard surface of the ring. The *zihqîr* is of jade, crystal, ivory brass gold, etc. Some are chased and carved and some are jewelled. In December, 1898, a remarkable one was offered for sale at an auction in Edinburgh of Lord Dalhousie's collections and the jewels of his daughter Lady S. G. Brown (Connemara). It is cut from a single emerald, and inscribed 'Jihat zihqîr shah-i-shahan Nâdir shâb girân bar tash hîr-i-hand az jauâhar Ihana intil hab shud' ('Selected for a thumb ring for the king of kings and lord of happy conjunction Nâdir, from the jewel room on the conquest of Hind').

An interesting account of Persian archery is included in the 'Book of Archery', G. Agar Hansard (Lond., 1810). It, however, calls the *zihqîr*, *safn*. *Safn* is the rough skin of a fish or lizard which is used to smooth the arrow shafts. (Cf. Lane's Ar Dict.)

¹ *Ba nîlâyati* (?) to Kabul and other outside places

² Perhaps this is an explanation of the paucity of right hand wedding guests.

42 Hanīfa Begā

And the others who had sat¹ at the Emperor's left on
embroidered divans

43 Ma'sūma Sultān Begam

44 Gul-rang Begam

45 Gul-chīhra Begam

46 This insignificant one, the broken Gul-badan

47 'Aqīqa Sultān Begam

48 Ājam, our mother, who was Dil-dār Begam²

49 Gul-barg Begam

50 Bega Begam (26a)

51 Māham's nanacha.

52 Sultānam, the wife of Amīr (Nizāmu-d-dīn) Khalīfa

53 Alūsh Begam

54 Nāhid Begam

55 Khurshīd kūka, and the children of my royal
father's foster-brothers

56 Afghānī āghācha

57³ Gul-nār āghācha

58 Nāz-gul āghācha

59 Makhdūma āgha, the wife of Hindū Beg

60 Fatīma Sultān anaga, the mother of Raushan kūka

61 Fakhru-n-nisā' anaga, the mother of Nadīm kūka

62 The wife of Muhammadi kūka

63 The wife of Mu'yid Beg

64 The kūkas of his Majesty Khurshīd kūka

65 Sharīfu-n-nisā' kūka

66 Fath kūka

67 Rabī'a Sultān kūka

¹ (?) At the Mystic Feast Its left hand guests have not been specified
There are no repetitions of names, although the list seems to give the
guests at both feasts Perhaps down to and including No 36 the
names are of begams who were at the first feast, and then went away
Then come 'our begams' of the right, whose home was near Humīyūn,
and who were at both feasts

² Cf 28b n

³ Nos 57 and 58 are, perhaps, the two Circassians whom Shah
Tahmisp sent as a gift to Bībar (Mems, 347) Gul nār is named in
Ābū 'l-fazl's list of pilgrims who went with Gul badan to Makkah in
983H, and as being of Bābar's household They (Nos 57 and 58) are
named also by Firishta

- 68 Mah-hiqn *lūla*
 69 Our nurses (*anāqā*)
 70 Our *lūlas*
 71 The begams' people and the wives of the amirs
 Those who were on the right
 73 Silmā Begā
 74 Bibi Nekā
 75 Khanam *āqha*, daughter of Khwāja 'Abdu-l-lāh
Maruārīd
 76 Nigir *āqha*, mother of Mughal Beg
 77 Dar Sultān *āqha*
 78 Agha *lūla*, wife of Mumīn Khan
 79 Daughter of Mir Shah Ilusain, (illegible) Begā
 80 Kisak Maham
 81 Kabuli Maham
 82 Begi *āqha*
 83 Khanam *āqha*
 84 Sa adat Sultan *āqha*
 85 Bibi Daulat bakht
 86 Nasib *āqha*
 87 (Illegible) Kabuli

Other begas and aghas, the wives of the amirs, sat on this hand, and all were present at the marriage feast (26)

This was the fashion of the Mystic House (there was) a large octagonal room in which they gave the feast, over against this a small room, also octagonal. In both every sort of profusion and splendour appeared. In the large octagonal hall was set the jewelled throne, and above and below it were spread out hangings (*adsaqahāt*) embroidered with gold, and wonderful strings of pearls (*shadlīhā*) hung, each 1½ yards (*gaz*) in length. At the end of each string (*lari*) were two glass globes. There had been made and hung some thirty or forty strings.

In the small room, in an alcove, were set a gilded bedstead and *pān*-dishes,¹ and water-vessels and jewelled drinking-vessels, and utensils of pure gold and silver

¹ This word excites curiosity as to the time when Gul badan's people learned to eat *pān*

Facing west (was) the audience hall, facing east, the garden, on the third side and facing south, the large octagon, and on the side facing north, the small one. In these three houses were three upper rooms. One they named the House of Dominion,¹ and in it were nine military appurtenances, such as a jewelled scimitar and gilded armour, a broad dagger and a curved dagger, and a quiver, all gilt, and a gold-embroidered overmantle² (27a)

In the second room, called the House of Good Fortune, an oratory had been arranged, and books placed, and gilded pen-cases,³ and splendid portfolios,⁴ and entertaining picture-books written in beautiful character⁵

In the third room, which they called the House of Pleasure, were set out a gilded bedstead and a coffer of sandal-wood, and all imaginable pillows. Then in front were spread specially choice coverlets,⁶ and before these table-cloths, all of gold brocade. Various fruits and beverages had been got ready, and everything for merriment and comfort and pleasure.

On the feast day of the Mystic House, his Majesty ordered all the mīrzās and begams to bring gifts,⁷ and everyone did so. He said 'Divide the gifts into three heaps.' They made three trays of *ashrafis* and six of *shāhrukhis*. One of *ashrafis* and two of *shāhrukhis* he

¹ As to this threefold classification, Elliot and Dowson, V, 119, may be consulted.

² Six articles only are separately named, but the *qūr* (translated armour) may be taken in the sense given to it in the *Aīn* (Blochmann, 109), and include four weapons, which makes the total the mystic nine. Cf *Aīn*, l c, and plates (N.B.—The numbering of the weapons [l c p 110] does not agree with that of the plates. Plate X should be consulted.)

³ *qalam dān* Several such are to be seen at the S.K.M. They are boxes damascened or painted with pictures, about 10 inches by 8 inches, and contain writing implements. 'Gilded' does not seem an appropriate epithet. Perhaps the dictionaries define imperfectly

⁴ *juz dān* Perhaps the beautiful book covers of the day. Those having flaps might be called portfolios

⁵ *muraqqā'*

⁶ *nihālchā* Placed, I presume, over carpets

⁷ *sāchāq* This word appears to have a special meaning of wedding gifts, but Gul badan uses it elsewhere more widely

gave to Hindū Beg and said 'This is the share of Dominion, give it to the mīrzās and chiefs and vazīrs and soldiers' (27b)

He gave in the same way to Mullā Muhammad Farghārī (Parghālī) and said 'This is the share of Good Fortune Give it to those who are eminent and respectable, and to theologians and religious men, to ascetics and graybeards, and dervishes and devotees, and the poor and the needy'

Concerning one tray of *ashrafīs* and two of *shāhi ukhīs* he said 'This is the portion of Pleasure This is mine Bring it forward' They did so He said 'What need is there to count?' First he himself vouchsafed his blessed hand and said 'Let them take to the begams on one small tray *ashrafīs* and on another *shāhi ukhīs* Let each person take her hands full' What was left, that is two trays of *shāhi ukhīs*,—which may have been 10,000,—and all the *ashrafīs*,—about 2,000—he gave in largesse, and scattered¹ first before the *walī 'u-n-nīmatān* (beneficent seniors), and then to those present at the entertainment No one received less than 100 or 150, and those in the tank especially received very much (28a) His Majesty was pleased to say 'Dearest lady! if you approved, they might put water in the tank' She replied 'Very good,' and went herself and sat at the top of the steps People were taking no notice, when all at once (?) the tap was turned and water came (28a) The young people got very much excited His Majesty said 'There is no harm, each of you will eat a pellet of anise² and a bit of comfit³ and come out of there' Upon this, everyone who would eat the comfit came out quickly The water was as high as their ankles To end the story, everyone ate the comfit and all came out

Then the viands of the feast were set forth, and robes of

¹ *nīsār* Again a word which, like *sāchāq*, would seem to fit the marriage feast better than the accession

² *shīt* The text has no points and would yield *seb*, apple, but anise is the better remedy against cold.

³ *ma'yūn*, any medical confection, but commonly an intoxicant Here it may be some preventive of chill.

honour were put on,¹ and gifts bestowed, and head-to-foot
dresses given to the comfit-eaters and others

On the margin of the tank was a room (*tālān*)² fitted
with talc windows, and young people sat in the room and
players made music. Also a woman's bāzār³ had been
arranged, and boats had been decorated. In one boat was
made (?) the semblance of six people (*kasi*) and six alcoves
(*hanj*), in (another) an upper room, and below it a garden
with amaranthus and cockscombs and larkspurs⁴ and
tulips. In one place there were eight boats, so that
there were eight pieces⁵

In short, everyone was astonished and amazed who
beheld what gift of contrivance the great God had bestowed
on the blessed mind of his Majesty (28b)

THE DESCRIPTION OF MĪRZĀ HINDĀL'S (MARRIAGE) FEAST IS AS FOLLOWS⁶

Sultānam Begam (*i.e.*, the bride) was a sister of Mahdi
Khwāja⁷. My father's brother-in law (*yazna*) had no child
except Ja'fai Khwāja, and there was no child (?) of Khān-
zāda Begam.⁸ Dearest lady had taken care of Sultānam

¹ It was now that 12,000 *khil'ats* are said to have been distributed. In this passage Gul badan twice uses the expression *sar u pāī*. Perhaps one might say that the 'young people' were given new clothes from head to foot, and so shake off the fetters of the rigid *khil'lat*, *sar-u-pāī*, and 'honorary dresses'.

² The dictionaries I have seen, explain *tālān* as a saloon built of wood and supported on four columns, and this is appropriate here. Le Strange and Haggard (Vazir of Lonkurān) say, 'Alcove or chamber in which a ruler sits to give public audience and hear suitors'. It is raised above the level of the (*c g*) courtyard, so that petitioners are below the *hakim*. Approaching this meaning is the 'throne' of the dictionaries.

³ Cf. *Aīn*, Blochmann, 276, *Khushros*, or Day of Fanoy Bāzārs.

⁴ *nā firmān*, stubborn, (?) because they will break and not bend. Balfour (Cyclopædia) and Forbes (Hind. Dict.) give larkspur, Fallon, poppy. An account of the boats, etc., may be read in B M MS Add 80,774, where is a translation by Sir H. Elliott's *munshī* from Khwānd amīr.

⁵ *parcha*. Perhaps flower gardens, perhaps Fr. *pièce* Cf. *Un appartement de deux, trois pièces*

⁶ Jauhar's date for this is 944H. (1587)

⁷ Many difficulties gather round this name. Cf Appendix *s n* Mahdi Khwāja

⁸ The copyist has perhaps omitted one *āka janām*

as though she were her child Sultanam was two years old when Khānzīda Begam took charge of her She (Khānzāda) loved her very much, and thought of her as a brother's child of her own She made a most entertaining and splendid feast

A *lūshka*¹ and hangings (*adəaqā*)² and five divans and five pillows for the head (*yīstūq*), and one large pillow and two round ones (*yalūla*), and girdles (*qūshqa*) and veils (*naqāb*), together with a tent³ with three gold-embroidered cushions and head-to foot dresses for a prince, with collar and bordering of gold embroidery, and bath-wrappers (*fauta*) and napkins (*rūpāl*) and embroidered towels (*rūmāl*) and an embroidered mantle (*qūiposh*) to be worn over the armour

For Sultanam Begam nine jackets (*nīm-tana*)⁴ with garniture of jewelled balls,⁵ one of ruby, one of cornelian,

¹ M Quatremère uses this word twice with perhaps two meanings (Notices et Extraits, XIV 324 325 and 406 8) At p 408 he translates it *kiosques*, and it seems to be a building At pp 324 and 406 he leaves it untranslated (Here it may have the sense given by Gul badan.) It is named amongst items prepared for ambassadors at a post house These are 'hat, throne, *bastar*, estrade, *lūshka*, *jīnlīl*, *sandalī*, sieve, etc Gul badan might intend to name a canopy or screen for a sleeping place in a large room or a movable kiosk with sleeping comforts

² Cf 22b

³ A word follows *tent* which I cannot make out It resembles *g(h, ch) l-gh* (no vowels)

⁴ *nīm tana*, i e, demi corps Like many of Gul badan's words, this is marked by Steingass as 'modern colloquial' Apropos of this, Dr Fritz Rosen says in the preface of his Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar, that the Persian of Irān differs 'in every respect' from the Persian of India The Persian of Gul badan allows one to feel at home with the vazir of Lonkurūn, and with Dr Rosen's own book Perhaps the difference he indicates is between the literary and colloquial Gul badan's Persian, however is presumably that of contemporary Irān, and her teachers were probably Persian born Dr Rosen's remark appears to require some restriction.

⁵ *tukma* (*dār*), usually translated *buttons*, but the button is so associated with the button hole as to suggest a fastening A dressmaker might say 'ball trimming' Globular buttons were and are placed round the neck and hem of a bodice The vazir of Lonkurūn ordered a jacket with garniture of twenty four gold buttons, smaller than a hen's and larger than a pigeon's Vests trimmed with 'buttons' (Mems) are repeatedly named by Bābar as gifts

one of emerald, one of turquoise, one of topaz, and one of cat's eye.

Again of necklaces, nine, and one embroidered collar and bordering, and four short jackets¹ with ball-trimming (*tulma-dār*), and one pair of ruby earrings and another of pearls, three fans,² and one royal umbrella

One *dīnakhī*³ and two *khutbī*⁴ and other furniture and effects, and household goods and chattels and workshops⁴ of all sorts (29a) Khānzāda Begam gave everything she had collected, and she arranged a feast such as had not been made for any other child of my royal father She planned it all and carried it all out

nine *tipūchāq* horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles, and gold and silver vessels and slaves,⁵ Tūrki and Circassian and Arūs (?Rūs) and Abyssinian,—of each (race) a royal gift of nine

What my royal father's brother-in-law⁶ (Mahdī Khwāja) gave to the mīrzā was a set of nine *tipūchāq* horses, with jewelled and gold-embroidered saddles and bridles, and

¹ *chār qartījī*, a suggested rendering only Johnson gives *kartī* (*qartī*) as a short bodice reaching to the hips, and the *qar* recurs in other words, having the sense of a body garment, e.g., *qarṭaq*, a short-sleeved jacket, *qarza*, a woman's vest

² *pankha*

³ I find no help as to these words in the dictionaries My only suggestion as to their possible meaning is too slightly based to be of value It is this In the South Kensington Museum, Oriental Section, I have seen tall lamp stands so shaped that they recall the *Qūfī* pillar outside Dihlī That such stands would be a part of good household furnishing the South Kensington Museum allows us to suppose We have our 'tall lamps,' our 'pillar lamps,' and also our 'branched candle sticks,' which may be a term parallel to *dirakht*, a tree

⁴ *hār khānahā* These may be the kitchen and its plenishing, the goldsmith's, with his tools, furnaces, and appliances, the perfumer's, etc Cf *Aīn*, Blochmann, and *Tār Rāsh*, E & R, 470

⁵ *ghulāmān*, which I have rendered slaves, because they were a gift But I know no warrant for such servitude as is thus implied

⁶ *yazna*, which is explained by Vambéry and Steingass as 'husband of the king's sister' Nīzāmu d dīn Ahmad styles Mahdī Khwāja *damād*, which Menínsky and Steingass explain as 'husband of the king's sister' and 'son in law' I do not find *yazna* rendered son in law by any of the dictionaries To read *yazna* 'brother in law of the king' agrees with the detailed statement of Mahdī's relation to Bābar made by Bāyazīd *bīyāt* Cf Appendix, s n Khānzāda.

gold and silver vessels, and two other sets of nine horses, baggage animals, with velvet saddles and bridles, and brocade and Portuguese cloth, and Tūrkī and Habshī and Hindi slaves,—in all, three sets of nine, and three head of elephants

In his Majesty's leisure after the feast came news that the vazīr of Sultān Bahādur, Khurāsān Khān by name, had attacked Bayāna His Majesty despatched Mīrzā Ashkārī, with several amīns, Mīr Faqr-āli Beg and Mīr Tardī Beg, etc These went to Bayana and fought and defeated Khurasān Khan¹ (29b) The Emperor set out for Gujrāt shortly afterwards, in prosperity and safety It was on the 15th of the revered Rajab 911H² that he quite decided to go himself to Gujrāt He set up his advance camp in the Gold-scattering Garden, and there spent a month while the forces were gathering in

On court days, which were Sundays and Tuesdays, he used to go to the other side of the river During his stay in the garden, ājam (Dil-dār Begam) and my sisters and the ladies (*haramān*) were often in his company Of all the tents, Ma sūma Sultān Begam's was at the top of the row Next came Gul-rang Begam's, and ājam's was in the same place Then the tent of my mother,³ Gul-barg Begam and of Bega Begam⁴ and the others

They set up the offices (*kār-khanahā*) and got them into

¹ Mīrzā Muqīm, Khurasān Khan

² January 29th, 1535 Abū'l-fażl gives Jumada I, 911H. (November, 1534) as the time for collecting the troops Perhaps the begam's date is that of departure, a day liable to postponement when Humāyūn was in pleasant quarters

³ It may be that the copyist has transferred the words 'my mother' from a quite usual place,—preceding or following the ājam of the previous sentence They are inappropriate to Gul barg Begam, at least, I have never seen them used to describe a brother's wife, and such I believe this Gul barg to be We know of a 'Bibi Gul barg, mentioned somewhat condescendingly (21a) by Māham Begam, I incline to take Gul barg there and here as Khalifa's daughter, and the former wife of Mīr Shāh Husain Arghūn Cf Appendix, s n Gul barg

⁴ This is, I think, Humāyūn's wife and the mother of 'Aqīqa The object of Gul badan's enumeration of the tents seems to be desire to show that Bābar's daughters and widow had places of honour higher than Humāyūn's family

order When they had put up the pavilions (*khaima*) and tents (*khai-gah*) and the audience tent (*bar gah*), the Emperor came to see the camp and the splendid set-out, and visited the begams and his sisters As he had dismounted somewhat near Ma'sūma Sultān Begam's (tent), he honoured her with a visit All of us, the begams and my sisters, were in his society (30a) When he went to any begam's or sister's quarters, all the begams and all his sisters used to go with him Next day he came to the tent¹ of this lowly person, and the entertainment lasted till the third watch² of the night Many begams were there, and his sisters, and ladies of rank (*begaha*) and of position (*aghāhā*), and other ladies (*aghāchahā*), and musicians and reciters After the third watch his Majesty was pleased to command repose His sisters and the begams made resting-places (*takīa*) in his presence³

Bega Begam woke (us) up, and said 'It is time for prayers'⁴ His Majesty ordered water for ablution⁵ made ready where he was, and so the begam knew that he was awake She began a complaint, and said to him 'For several days now you have been paying visits in this garden, and on no one day have you been to our⁶ house Thorns have not been planted in the way to it We hope you will deign to visit our quarters also, and to have a party and a sociable gathering there, too How long will you think it right to show all these disfavours to us helpless ones? We too have hearts Three times you have honoured other places by visits, and you have run day and night into one in amusement and conversation' (30b)

When she had finished, his Majesty said nothing, and

¹ *khāna*, lit., house

² *pahar* Gul badan names the Hindūstānī division of time into watches on which her father had commented as being a novelty to himself (Mems, 831)

³ It seems, as again later on, that they fell asleep where they were seated, on mattresses and provided with pillows

⁴ The early morning prayers, about which the opinion is expressed that prayer is better than sleep

⁵ *wazū'*, ablution before prayers Cf Hughes, Dict of Islām

⁶ From what follows, Gul barg would seem to be the fellow sufferer

went to prayers At the first watch of the day he came out and sent for his sisters and the begams, and for Dil-dār Begam, and Afghānī āqhācha, and Gul nār āqhācha, and Mevwa-jān and Āghā-jān, and the nurses (*anaqahā*) We all went, and he said not a word, so everyone knew he was angry Then after a little he began ‘Bibī, what ill-treatment at my hands did you complain of this morning?’ and ‘That was not the place to make a complaint You all (*shumā*) know that I have been to the quarters of the elder relations (*u alī'u-n-nī'matān*) of you all (*shumāyān*) It is a necessity laid on me to make them happy Nevertheless, I am ashamed before them because I see them so rarely It has long been in my mind to ask from you all a signed declaration (*sīlī*), and it is as well that you have brought me to the speaking-point I am an opium-eater If there should be delay in my comings and goings, do not be angry with me Rather, write me a letter, and say “Whether it please you to come or whether it please you not to come, we are content and are thankful to you”’

✓ Gul-barg Begam wrote to this effect at once, and he settled it with her¹ Bega Begam insisted a little, saying ‘The excuse looked worse than the fault² (*zīa*) We complained in order that your Majesty might lift up our heads by your favour Your Majesty has carried the matter to this point! What remedy have we? You are Emperor’ She wrote a letter and gave it to him, and he made it up³ with her also

On February 18th, 1584 (Sha'bān 14th, 941 H), he set out from the Gold scattering Garden and marched for Gujrāt, to fall upon Sultān Bahādūr They confronted one another at Manhasur (Mandsūr), a battle was fought, and Sultān Bahādūr, on his defeat, fled to Champānū Then

¹ *ba Gul barg Begam daryāftand*

² A familiar proverb Cf Steingass, 840, s v 'azr

³ *daryāftand* Gul badān frequently uses this word as meaning to embrace and to greet, a sense not mentioned by Johnson or Steingass The *ba* of the earlier instance (note 1) induced me to give it the notion of coming to an understanding Cf 16b

his Majesty resolved to pursue him Sultān Bahādur left Champānīr and went towards Ahmadābād¹ His Majesty took the country of Ahmadābād also, and portioned out the whole of Gujīrāt to his men Ahmadābād he bestowed on Mīrzā 'Askarī,² Bahrūch on Qāsim Husain Sultān,³ and Patan on Yādgār-nāsir Mīrzā⁴

He himself, with a small following, went from Champānīr to visit Kanbāyat⁵ (Cambay) A few days later there came a woman with news, and said 'Why are you sitting here? The men of Kanbāyat have gathered, and will fall upon you unless your Majesty rides off' The royal amīrs attacked the rabble,⁶ and got them into their hands and cut them in pieces (31b)

His Majesty then went to Baroda, and from there towards Champānīr⁷ We had settled down, when there

¹ Taking his treasure with him, Sultān Bahādur fled before Humāyūn to Champānīr, Ahmadābād, Cambay and Diu

² Humāyūn's half brother

³ Grandson, through a daughter, of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāygrā, on his father's side an Uzbeg

⁴ Humāyūn's first cousin, the son of Bābar's half brother Nāsir He was a posthumous child Mr Beveridge has drawn my attention to the fact,—of which there are other examples,—that he is called Yādgār, a souvenir, of Nāsir, his father

⁵ This excursion preceded the allotment of fiefs Gul badan's way of putting the pursuit of Bahādur is borne out by some other writers. This was Humāyūn's first sight of the sea, and the spectacle seems to have been more in her mind than was Bahādur Akbar's first sight of the sea is also commemorated in the histories

⁶ Abū'l fażl calls them Bhils and Gāwārs (H B I 809) They were rude tribesmen acting in Bahādur's interests Maternal affection saved the small royal camp The 'woman' had a son a slave in it, and she purchased his freedom by revealing the designs of her fellow tribesmen Although Cambay had not furnished the assailants, it paid in fire and pillage for the attack It lay near, was an enemy's town, and such an incident as the onslaught of the Bhils would not allow of fine distinction of race and person

⁷ Behind this dull statement is a stirring episode Humāyūn took Champānīr after a four months' blockade, by night escalade of a rock so nearly perpendicular that seventy or eighty iron spikes had to be driven in to allow ascent Thirty-nine men climbed up Bairām Khān was the fortieth, Humāyūn the forty-first of the three hundred who mounted Such a Bābar like episode makes regret the keener that Humāyūn's life was ruined and stained by his slavery to a drug The loot of Champānīr was enormous, it had been regarded as im pregnable, and was full of treasure It was taken in 1586 (948 H)

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|------------|-------|--------|----------|----------|-----|-------------|-----------|
| لشکر طار | نام و ریان | فرا | نام ما | نام هادر | شال ولاد | موم | شال | لشکر طار |
| سر از بکالا | مارس | افغان | باقمه | حسن | اعفان | امن | سر از بکالا | عرف فردیز |



SHIR SHAH SURI

was a tumult, and Mīrzā 'Askari's people left Alīmadābād and came to the Emperor. They represented to him that Mīrzā 'Askari¹ and Yādgār-nāsir Mīrzā had conspired, and wished to go to Āgra. On hearing this, he himself was forced to go, he left the important affairs of Gujīrāt [(?) its pacification], and turned away and went to Āgra. Here he spent as much as a year.²

He then went to Chanāda (Chunār), and took it,³ and also Benares. Shīr Khān was in Charkanda,⁴ and made an offer of service, saying 'I am your old servant. Give me a place with a fixed boundary in which I may establish myself.'

His Majesty was considering this, when the king of Gaur Bangālā⁵ came wounded and a fugitive. For this reason he gave no attention (to Shīr Khān), but marched towards Gaur Bangālā. Shīr Khān knew that his Majesty had gone there, and went himself also with a large detachment of horse, and joined his son (Jīlāl Khān), who was in Gaur with his servant Khawāṣ Khān. Shīr Khān sent them out, and said 'Go and fortify Garhī'⁶ (32a)

Both came and occupied Garhī. His Majesty had written to Jahāngīr Beg 'Advance a stage, and go up

Humāyūn now relapsed into an evil mood of feasting and indolence. He remained near Champīnīr, and affairs entered on a recurrent phase. There was complete relaxation of discipline.

Gul badan's 'we had settled down' (*nishista budīm*) allows the inference that she and other ladies had joined the camp. A later instance will be found of the inopportune presence of women and children with the army. But it may mean merely 'we were comfortably awaiting events' in Agra.

¹ He was thinking of having the *khufba* read in his own name in Āgra. Such an aspiration in Humāyūn's brothers was encouraged by his own abdications of sovereignty.

² A fatal year which allowed Shīr Khīn to gather force. Gul badan's recital of the historical events of this time has no value.

³ Shīr Khīn

⁴ Jhārkhand

⁵ Sāvid Mālumūd Shīh. He had been defeated by Shīr Khīn (Cf. Erskine's notes on Stewart's Jauhar, B.M. Add. 26,608, p. 12.)

⁶ 'The gate of Bengal,' a pass between it and Bihār, and which has a hill on one hand and the Ganges on the other. It is the Terā gurhī or Tilān gulley of our maps.

to Garhī' There was fighting, and Jahāngū Beg was wounded and many men were slain

When the Emperor had spent three or four days in Kohlgānū (Colgong), it became advisable for him to march on and halt near Garhī He marched forward, and when he came near Garhī, Shir Khān and Khawāṣ Khān fled by night, and he entered Garhī next day Thence he went to Gaur Bangāla, and took it

He was nine months in the far-away country of Gaur, and named it Jannatābād¹

He was comfortably and safely in Gaur, when news came that some of the amīrs had deserted and joined Mīrzā Hindāl²

Khusrau Beg³ (*kūkaltāsh*) and Zahīd Beg⁴ and Sayyid Amīr⁵ paid their respects to the mīrzā, and said 'The Emperor has gone comfortably far away, and the mīrzās, Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā and his sons, Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, have again raised their heads,⁶ and continually keep showing themselves in company' (32b)

Just at this time the asylum of shaikhs, the servitor (*bandagi*) Shaikh Bahlūl, hid⁷ armour and horse-accoutre-

¹ City of Paradise The demoralizing effects of life in Gaur were felt under Akbar Humāyūn, with his empire crumbling around him, was now (as Jauhar testifies) 'so much devoted to pleasure and sensual enjoyment that, after the first month, he was never seen, as he was always shut up in a private apartment of the palace' Naturally, Gul badan's next item of narrative is of rebellion,—this time by her own brother, Hindāl

² He was only nineteen, and the crown may well have seemed at anyone's service The date is 1588 (945H) Humāyūn in Gaur was cut off from his capital by Shir Khān

³ Bābar first names him in 1507 8 as coming from Harāt There are two men named Khusrau *kūkaltāsh* by Bābar, but they were not contemporaries One died in 1502 8, before the other came upon the scene

⁴ Husband of the sister of Bega Begam, Humāyūn's wife He was put to death by Mīrzā Kāmrān at Ghaznī in 1547

⁵ Sayyid Nūru d dīn Mīrzā, the father of Salīma Sultān Begam, and the husband of a daughter of Bābar Cf App s n Gul rang

⁶ Hindāl had recently defeated them (Erskine, II 89 *et seq.*) For causes of Hindāl's rebellion, and for Bega Begam's part in it, see Erskine's Jauhar, *l c*, p 18

⁷ Some words seem to be omitted, e.g., 'was accused of' Gul badan

ments and military stores in an underground place, and would have loaded them on carts and sent them to Shū Khān and the mīrzīs¹. Mīrzā Hindāl would not believe it, so Mīrzī Nūru-d-din Muhammad was sent to inquire into the matter. He found the armour and accoutrements, and had *Bandagi* Shaikh Bahlūl killed.² The Emperor, on hearing news of it, set out for Āgra.

He was coming by that side of the Ganges (*i.e.*, the left bank) opposite Mungīr, when his amīrs represented 'You are a great king'! Return by the way you came, lest Shīr Khān should say "Forsaking his road of advance, he took another of retreat"³. The Emperor returned to Mungīr, and brought many of his people and his family by boat up the river as far as Hajipūr-Patna.

When he went (to Bengal) he had left Qāsim (Husain Sultān Uzbeg) there. Now came news of Shīr Khān's approach. Whenever there was fighting, the royal troops won.

Just now Bābā Beg (*Jalāī*) came from Jaunpūr and Mīrak Beg from Chanāda (Chunār), and Mughal Beg from Oude (33a). As these three amīrs joined the Emperor, corn became dear.

Then,—such was God's will,—they had halted without precaution, when Shīr Khān came and fell upon them. The army was defeated, and many kinsmen and followers remained in captivity. His Majesty's own blessed hand was wounded. Three days he remained in Chunār, and then came to Arail.⁴

cannot have believed the accusation. Perhaps, however, her long friendship with Nūru d dīn's daughter Salīma would make her pen discreet in blaming his murder of the shaikh.

¹ The rebels mentioned on p. 23b.

² For the probable facts, cf. B & H, II 162 *et seq.*

³ It was Mu'yid Beg *Duladai Barlās* who urged this foolish point of honour, and who thus led to the disaster at Chausa. He was a cruel man as well as one ignorant in military matters. He was a favourite of Humayūn, but the Emperor's followers rejoiced when he died.

⁴ Gul badan's brevity (natural enough even if she were more historic in method) is somewhat misleading. Mr Erskine allows one to follow

When his Majesty reached the river's bank, he stopped, bewildered as to the crossing, and said 'How to cross without boats?' Then came the rāja (Birbahān) with five or six horsemen and led him through a ford. For four or five days his people were without food or drink. At last the rāja started a bāzār, so that the people of the army lived some days in comfort and repose. The horses also were rested. Many men who were on foot bought fresh mounts. In short, the rāja rendered fitting and dutiful services. Later on his Majesty gave him leave to go, and at the hour of mid-day prayer came himself, safely and comfortably, to the bank of the Jamna. The army crossed at a ford they had found. A few days later they came to Karra, where corn and grass were plentiful, because it was his Majesty's own country (33b)

When his people were rested, he went on to Kalpi, and then marched on to Āgra.

Before his arrival in Āgra, he heard news that Shīr Khān was coming (from) the direction of Chausa. Great anxiety fell upon his people.

Of many who were in that rout (at Chausa) there was never heard, in any way sooner, news or sign. Amongst them were 'Āyisha Sultān Begam, daughter of Sultān Husain Mirzā¹ (Bayqar), and Bachaka, who was a *Khālīfa* of my royal father,² and Bega jan *kūka*, and 'Aqīqa Begam,³ and Chānd Bibi, who was seven months with

the misadventures which culminated in the defeat. This—the rout at Chausa—occurred near to where the Sōn falls into the Ganges and at Chūpat Ghat, on June 27th, 1530 (Safar 9th, 916H). The statement of Humayun's visit to Chunar, I do not find elsewhere. Chunar is a town held by royalists. The Arbil named is presumably that near Allāhābād.

¹ Wife of Qisim Husain Sultān Uzbeg, whose timely arrival gave Bibar so much satisfaction (13a). Qisim had been Governor of Latna (32b), but from the circumstance of his wife's being at Chausa, it would seem to have left it with Humayun.

² Bachaka, who was a *Khālīfa* of Bibar, who had escaped with him from Samarcand in 1501 (907H), so in thirty of his years before the Chausa episode. *Khālīfa*, as applied to a woman denotes a servant or slave who exercises surveillance over other women as a maid, and has charge of rooms—an upper maid-servant.

³ Begum Begam's daughter, who will be eleven at her years old.

child, and Shad Bibi all three¹ (*su*) of whom were of his Majesty's *lunia*. Of these several people, he never heard even a word as to whether they were drowned or what became of them. In spite of all possible inquiry and search what had become of them was never found out.

His own illness dragged on for forty days and he then grew better.

At this time, when Khusrav Beg (*Lü'lutsch*), and Divana Beg, and Zabid Beg and Sayyid Amit, had come on in advance of his Majesty's news again arrived that the muzás Muhammad Sultan Mirzā and his sons had come to Kanauj (*ka*).

After Shaikh Bahlul's murder, Mirzā Hindal went to Dihli. He took with him Mir Iaqr'ah and other well-wishers to frustrate and disperse the mirzás. The mirzás fled, and came into the Kanauj quarter. Mir Iaqr'ah brought Mirzā Yudgir násir to Dihli. As there was neither friendliness nor confidence between Mirza Hindal and Mirzā Yudgir násir, Mirzā Hindal, when Mir Iaqr'ah made this mistake, sat down out of sheer annoyance and besieged Dihli.²

When Mirzā Kamran heard these things, there arose in him also a desire of sovereignty. With 12,000 fully equipped horsemen he went to Dihli. Mir Iaqr'ah and Mirzā Yudgir násir closed the city gates on his approach. Two or three days later, Mir Iaqr'ah, having made an agreement, went and saw Mirzā Kamran. He represented 'The news heard of his Majesty and Shir Khan may be so and so'. Mirzā Yudgir násir, from thought of his own interest, does not wait on you. The advisable course at this crisis is, that you should lay hands on Mirza Hindal,

¹ Perhaps the copyist has omitted a name, perhaps, as a child of Humayun, Aqiqah is 'of the *Jaram*'

² From his wound or from distress of mind. The 'forty days' suggest the ceremonial term of mourning.

³ The whole of the above paragraph it would be safest to hide with Hindal under his sister's charitable cloak. For a historical account of the time see B & H, II, Book IV, Cap. IV

⁴ Clearly the ill news of the rout at Chausi

go to Āgīā, and not think of establishing yourself in Dihlī' (34b)

Mīrzā Kāmrān gave heed to Mīr Faqr-‘alī's words, and bestowed on him a head-to foot dress He then seized Mīrzā Hindāl and came to Āgīā He visited the tomb of *Firdaus-mahānī*,¹ saw his mother and sisters, and halted in the Rose-scattering² Garden

At this time Nūr Beg brought word of his Majesty's coming³ As Mīrzā Hindāl was excluded from the presence because of the murder of Shaikh Bahlūl, he went to Alwāi⁴

A few days after his Majesty's arrival, Mīrzā Kāmrān came from the Rose-scattering Garden and paid his respects to him We paid our respects on the evening of the day he came He took notice of this insignificant one, and was kindly pleased to say 'I did not know you at first, because when I led the army (whose footprints are victorious) to Gaur Bangāla, you wore the high cap (*zāq*), and now when I saw the muslin coif⁵ I did not recognise you And oh, my Gul-badan, I used very often to think of you, and was sometimes sorry, and said "I do wish I had brought her!" But at the time of the disaster (*fitrāt*) I was thankful I had not, and I said (35a) "Thank God I did not bring Gul-badan!" For although 'Aqīqa' was young, I have been

¹ Bābar's remains then had not been conveyed to Kābul in 1589

² (?) Gold scattering Mr Erskine calls it so, and it is likely to be that already mentioned by Gul badan more than once

³ Retreating from Chausa

⁴ His own *jāgīr*

⁵ *zāfr azar* This, after Chausa, can only be a precative of Gul badan's

⁶ This change appears to indicate that Gul badan, who is about eighteen or nineteen years old, has been married The Persian has *lachaq qasāba*, without conjunction Steingass and Johnson describe the *lachaq* as a square mantle worn by women, doubled into a triangle, but here the description given in the *Burlān i-qātī* is more apropos, i.e., a square of stuff folded cornerwise and put upon the head so that the corners tie under the chin It is often (l c) elaborately embroidered in gold *Qasāba* appears to have the same meaning as *lachaq*

⁷ Cf p 88b

consumed by a hundred thousand regrets and cares, and have said "Why did I take her with the army?"'

A few days later he came to see my mother. He had with him the Holy Book. He commanded the attendants to retire¹ for awhile, and they rose and there was privacy. Then he said to *ājam* (Dil-dār Begam) and this insignificant one, and to Afghānī *āqhācha*, and Gul nāī *āqhācha*, and Nār-gul *āqhācha*, and my nurse (*anaga*) 'Hindāl is my strength² and my spear,³ the desirable light of my eyes, the might of my aim, the desired, the beloved. May what I do be right! What shall I say to Mīrzā Muhammad Hindāl about the affair of my⁴ Shaikh Bahlūl? What was to be has been! Now there is no anger in my heart against Hindāl. If you do not believe it!' He had lifted up the Holy Book when her Highness my mother, Dil-dār Begam, and this poor thing snatched it from his hand. All cried, 'May what you do be right! Why do you say such things?'

Then again he spoke 'How would it be, Gul-badan, if you went yourself and fetched your brother, Muhammad Hindāl Mīrzā?' (35b) Her Highness, my mother, said 'This gurie (*dukkharah*) is young. She has never made a journey (alone). If you approved, I would go.' His Majesty said 'If I give you this trouble, it is because it is clearly incumbent on fathers and mothers to feel for their children. If you would honour him with a visit, it would be a healing-balm applied for us all.'

Then he sent Mir Abū'l-baqā⁵ with her Highness my mother, to fetch Mīrzā Hindāl. At once on hearing this

¹ *kināra kardand* This metaphor recalls the arrangement of carpets in Persian rooms, with the carpet proper in the centre, an upper end (*sar andāz*) and borders (*kināra*). 'Go aside' might be a good rendering.

² *qūl*, Mongolian,—main body of an army

³ Ar *qanāt*

⁴ Here and in the apostrophe to Gul badan I have allowed the *man* to indicate the affection Humāyūn had for his half sister and for the revered shaikh. It might be, however (as at 'Now there is no anger,' cf. text), the simple first person

⁵ B & H, II, 8 n

news 'She has come to see me!' Muhammad Hindāl Mīrzā made his mother happy by giving her honourable meeting He came with her from Alwar, and paid his duty to his Majesty¹ About Shaikh Bahlūl he said 'He used to send arms and military appurtenances to Shīr Khān When this was ascertained, I killed the shaikh on account of it'

To put it briefly in a short time came news that Shīr Khān had come near Lakhnau

In those days his Majesty had a certain servant, a water-carrier (*36a*) As he had been parted from his horse in the river at Chausa and this servant betook himself to his help and got him safe and sound out of the current, his Majesty now seated him on the throne The name of that menial person we did not hear, some said Nizām, some said Sambal But to cut the story short, his Majesty made the water-carrier servant sit on the throne, and ordered all the amīns to make obeisance to him The servant gave everyone what he wished, and made appointments For as much as two days the Emperor gave royal power to that menial Mīrzā Hindāl was not present at his court,² he had taken leave, and had again gone to Alwar with the intention of getting arms ready Neither did Mīrzā Kāmrān appear He was ill, and sent to say to his Majesty 'Gifts and favours of some other kind ought to be the servant's reward What propriety is there in setting him on the throne? At a time when Shīr Khān is near, what kind of affair is this to engage your Majesty?'

In those days Mīrzā Kāmrān's illness increased amazingly He became weak and so thin that his face was not in the least his own, and there was no hope of his life (*36b*)

¹ Hindāl was received in the presence of Kāmrān and other kinsmen Humāyūn said to Kāmrān 'You know who is to blame! Why did Hindāl rebel?' Kāmrān passed on the question to Hindāl himself, who, with profound shame, pleaded that being young he had listened to bad advice, and begged forgiveness (Erskine's notes on Stewart's Jauhar, B M Add 26,608)

² Lat, in that assembly

By the Divine mercy he grew better. He suspected that the Emperor's mothers,¹ by his Majesty's advice, had given him poison. His Majesty came to hear of this, and instantly went to see the mīrzā and swore that he had never had such a thought, nor given such an order to any one. Nevertheless, Mīrzā Kāmrān's heart was not purged. Afterwards he got worse, day after day, and he lost power of speech.

When news came that Shī Khān had left Lakhnau, the Emperor marched towards Kanauj, and left Mīrzā Kāmrān in Āgra to act for him. In a few days the mīrzā heard that he had made a bridge of boats and crossed the Ganges. On this, he himself marched out of Āgra towards Lāhōr.²

We had settled down³ when he sent⁴ a *farmān* like a king's, and said 'You⁵ are commanded to go with me to Lāhōr.' He must have said⁶ to his Majesty about me something of this sort 'I am very ill and very miserable and lonely, and I have no one⁷ to sympathize with me (37a). If you will order Gul-badan Begam to go with me to Lāhōr, it will be a real favour and kindness.' For his sake his Majesty will have said 'She shall go.' Two or three days after the Emperor had gone towards Lakhnau, the mīrzā sent a *farmān*,⁸ in royal style, to the effect 'Most assuredly you will come with me.' Then my mother must have said 'She has never travelled apart from us.' He replied⁹ 'If she has not travelled alone, do you also go with her.' He sent as many as 500 troopers and trusty grooms, and both his foster-father and his foster-brother, and said (to my mother) 'If she may not go with me (to

¹ i.e., Bibar's widows

² A treacherous defection

³ The royal family, after the Emperor's and the mīrzā's departure

⁴ Perhaps from his first halting place outside the city

⁵ Clearly Gul badan

⁶ Before either brother left Āgra.

⁷ i.e., of his kinsfolk, and especially of his women kinsfolk

⁸ This, I think, is the one already named.

⁹ *īshān farmudand* This seems to mean Humāyūn, and to refer the following speech back to the earliest discussion of the project of Gul badan's journey at the time Humāyūn was still in Āgra. The whole episode is confused in narrative.

Lāhōr), come all of you one stage' When one stage was reached, he began to declare, on his oath 'I will not let you go' Then he took me by main force, with a hundred weepings and complaints and laments, away from my mothers, and my own mother and my sisters, and my father's people, and my brothers, and parted us who had all grown up together from infancy¹

I saw that the Emperor's command also was in the affair I was helpless (37b) I wrote a suppliant letter, saying 'I never expected your Majesty to cut off this insignificant one from your service, and to give her to Mīrzā Kāmrān' To this humble note he sent a compassionate answer (*salam-nāma*), to this effect 'I had no heart to part with you, but the mīrzā persisted, and was miserable, and begged very hard, and I was obliged to trust you to him For just now there is important work² on hand God willing, I will send for you when it is settled'

When the mīrzā was starting, many people, amirs and traders and so on, made preparation with the intention of letting their wives and families march under his escort to Lāhōr When we reached (the city) news came of a battle on the Ganges, and that defeat had befallen the royal army³

At least there was this limit to misfortune,—his Majesty and his brothers came safely through the peril⁴ Our other relations⁵ came from Āgra by way of Alwar to Lāhōr (38a)

¹ It must be remembered that Gul badan's husband, Khizr Khwāja, was a brother of Āq Sultan (Yasīn daulat), Kāmrān's son in law, and Kāmrān may have had other motives than affection for desiring her presence, e.g., the attraction of her husband's contingent

² The opposition of Shīr Khān, soon to be closed at Kanauj Gul badan's enforced departure with Kāmrān saved her a painful and hazardous flight

³ May 17th, 1540 (Muharram 10th, 947H) Mīrzā Haidar gives an admirable account of it as 'the battle of the Ganges' Gul badan's full brother, Hindāl, led the van at Kanauj, and defeated Shīr Khān's son, Jalāl Hindāl was a successful general 'Askarī, Kāmrān's full brother, was defeated by Khawāṣ Khān.

⁴ As at Chausa, so at Kanauj, Humāyūn was nearly drowned Here he was saved by Shamsu d din Muhammad of Ghaznī, whose wife, under the sobriquet of Jī jī anaga, became a nurse of Akbar

⁵ They were convoyed by Hindāl See *infra*

Just now the Emperor said to Mīrzā Hindāl "Aqīqa Begam disappeared in that first interregnum (*fīrat*¹), and I repented extremely, and said "Why did I not kill her in my own presence?" Now, again, it is difficult to convey women with us' Mīrzā Hindāl answered 'What it would be to your Majesty to kill a mother and a sister, speaks for itself! So long as there is life in me, I will fight in their service I have hope in the most high God, that,—poor fellow as I am,—I may pour out my life's blood for my mother and my sisters'

Then the Emperor set out for Fathipūr (Sikri) with Mīrzā 'Askarī and Yūdgār nāsir Mīrza and the amirs who had come safely off the battlefield²

Mīrzā Hindāl sent on before him³ her Highness his mother, who was Dil-dar Begam, and his own sister, Gul-chihra Begam, and Afghani āqhācha, and Gul nār āqhācha, and Nīr-gul āqhācha, and the amirs' wives and families, etc He was marching along when the Gawārs pursued him in great numbers (38b) Some of his troopers charged and defeated them An arrow struck his horse⁴ There was much fighting and confusion Having saved the helpless women from the bond of the Gawars, he sent on (to Lāhōr) his mother and sister, and many of the amirs' people, etc, and went to Alwar Here he got together tents and pavilions and numerous requisites, and then started for Lāhōr He arrived in a few days,

¹ i.e., battle of Chausa *Fitna* would read more easily here Perhaps behind *fitrat* is the notion of relaxation in effort, or of an interval between two periods of good fortune

² Amongst them was Hādar Mīrzā, who describes the fugitives as 'broken and dispirited, and in a state heartrending to tell' Sikri must have rubbed salt into their wounds, since it recalls Bībarī's triumph Their halting place there was his garden, a token of his genius for living

³ The known enemy, Shīr Khīn, was in the rear With Hindāl's marriage feast fresh in mind, one may give a thought to Sultānam She was probably of this party, since her husband's contingent was with Humāyūn, and he was not on his *jāgīr* of Alwar

⁴ *Asp-i mubārik*, (?) the horse which had the happiness to bear him Perhaps *asp* is a mistake for some word to which 'blessed' would be a more fit adjective

and brought what was wanted for the princes and the amirs

His Majesty alighted in Khwāja Ghāzi's garden near Bibī Hāj-tāj¹ Every day there was news of Shīr Khān, and during the three months that the Emperor was in Lāhōr word was brought day after day 'Shīr Khān has advanced four miles,' 'six miles,' till he was near Sirhind

One of the amirs was named Muzaffar Beg He was a Tūrkman The Emperor sent him with Qāzī 'Abdu-l-lāh to Shīr Khān to say 'What justice is there in this? I have left you the whole of Hindūstān Leave Lāhōr alone, and let Sirhind, where you are, be a boundary between you and me' (39a) But that unjust man, fearless of God, did not consent, and answered 'I have left you Kābul You should go there'

Muzaffar Beg marched at once, and sent on an express to say 'A move must be made' As soon as this message came, his Majesty set off It was like the Day of Resurrection People left their decorated places and furniture just as they were, but took with them whatever money they had There was thankfulness to God, because mercifully a ford was found across the Lāhōr water (Rāvī) where everyone crossed His Majesty halted a few days on the river's bank Then an ambassador came from Shīr Khān The Emperor had decided to see him next morning, when Mūzā Kāmrān made a petition, saying 'To-morrow there

¹ Abū'l-fażl says that Hindāl's quarters were in Khwāja Ghāzi's garden, and Humāyūn's in Khwāja Dost munshī's

Bibī Haj, Bibī Tāj, Bibī Nūr, Bibī Hūr, Bibī Gūhar, and Bibī Shābz are said to have been daughters of 'Aqil, brother of 'Alī (Muhammad's son in law) They were famous for piety and asceticism After the murder of Imām Husain at Kerbela, these ladies left Syria for India in obedience to a secret intimation They alighted outside Lāhōr at the place named by Gul badan and where their shrine now is They converted many of the townspeople to their faith, and thus angered the, presumably Hindū, governor He sent his son to command their departure, but the son fell under their influence, and remained near them This still more angered his father, who went out against them and their followers with an armed force The ladies prayed that their honour might be preserved, and they not be seen by strange men Immediately the earth opened and swallowed them (*Khaṣīna'u l'affiyā*, II 407)

will be an entertainment, and Shīr Khān's envoy will be present If I may sit on a corner of your Majesty's carpet, so that there may be distinction between me and my brothers, it will be a cause of my exaltation '¹

Hamīda bīnū Begam says it was his Majesty who wrote and sent the following verse to the mīrzā² I had heard that he sent it to Shīr Khān by the envoy This is the verse

'Although one's image be shown in the mirror,
It remains always apart from one's self' (³⁷¹)

'It is wonderful to see one's self in another form
This marvel will be the work of God'

When Shīr Khān's ambassador arrived he paid his respects

The Emperor's blessed heart was cast down He fell asleep in a sad mood, and saw in a dream a venerable man, dressed in green from head to foot and carrying a staff, who said 'Be of good cheer, do not grieve,' and gave his staff into the royal hand 'The most high God will give you a son who shall be named Jalālu d-dīn Muhammad Akbar' The Emperor asked 'What is your honourable name?' He answered 'The Terrible Elephant,' Ahmad of Jām, and added 'Your son will be of my lineage'⁴

¹ For an account of Kāmrīn's odious and fruitless treachery see B & H, II 200 *et seqq.* The meaning of his message to Humāyūn is not clear to me Perhaps he wished to show the envoy that he was not on the level of Hindūl and Askarī, but able to claim recognition as a ruler and as Humāyūn's equal Perhaps it was a hint to Humāyūn that he must recognise Kāmrīn's equality in the lands in which the latter had been supreme while he himself ruled in Dihlī

At this time Humāyūn was strongly advised to put Kāmrīn to death He refused, but later on and after a dreary waste of good nature, his filial piety had to yield to the common sense of his victimized followers and allow the blinding

² At the time when the verse was written Hamīda was not married The discussion in 1587 (*circa*) of a 'point between the ladies' is a living touch to the old MS Which was likely to be right,—Hamīda who might later have heard the story from her husband, or Gul badan who was in Līhōr? Gul badan puts the difference of opinion gently but does not surrender, and leaves her readers to draw their own inferences

³ *Zinda-fil*

⁴ Humāyūn was of the lineage of Ahmad of Jām through his mother Māham (A. N., *Bib Ind*, ed I 121) To give force to the prophecy,

In those days Bibī Gūnwar¹ was with child. Everyone said 'A son will be born' In that same garden of Dost munshī and in the month of Jumāda'u-l-awwal, a daughter was born whom they named Bakhshī-bānū.

At this time his Majesty appointed Mīrzā Haidar to take Kashmīr. Meantime, news was brought that Shīr Khān was there. A wonderful confusion followed, and the Emperor decided to march off next morning (40a)

While the brothers were in Lāhōr, they conferred and took counsel and asked advice, but they did not settle on any single thing. At last the news was 'Shīr Khān is here'. Then, as there was no help for it, they marched off at the first watch of the day (9 a m.)

The Emperor's wish was to go to Kashmīr, where he had sent Mīrzā Haidar *Kashgharī*, but news of the mīrzā's success had not yet come, and people counselled 'If your Majesty were to go to Kashmīr, and the country was not conquered at once, it would—with Shīr Khān in Lāhōr—be a very difficult time.'

Khwāja Kilān Beg² was in Siālkōt, and disposed to serve his Majesty. With him was Mū'yid Beg, who wrote 'The khwāja greatly wishes to serve you and would come, but he has Mīrzā Kāmrān to consider. If your Majesty would come quickly, his help would be made easy in an excellent way.' The Emperor at once took arms and equipment, and set out to go to the khwāja, and joined company with him and brought him along³

however, the coming child's mother had to be of the same descent, since Humāyūn's claim to rank as of the saint's lineage required no prophetic announcement. Indeed this story seems to cast doubt on that claim. Akbar's mother, Hamīda, was of the line of Ahmad of Jām. So, too, was Bega (Hājī) Begam. Another of the same family was Bābū or Bānū āghā, wife of Shihābu d dīn Ahmad of Nishāpūr.

¹ To give value to Ahmad's prophecy, Bibī Gūnwar ought also to have traced back to him. She does not seem to have been a woman of rank. The girl now born was at least the third child of Humāyūn, there having been Al amān and 'Aqīqa, children of Bega Begam and now both dead.

² The well known old servant of Bābūr and now one of Kāmrān's chief amīrs.

³ The begam's story here does not agree with that of Mr Erskine's authorities. Mū'yid Beg is the ill adviser of the march from Bengal to Chausa.

The Emperor was pleased to say 'With my brothers' concurrence, I shall go to Badakhshān (40b) Let Kābul remain the fief of Mīrzā Kāmrān' But Mīrzā Kāmrān would not consent to (his Majesty's) going to Kābul,¹ and said 'In his lifetime the Emperor *Indaus-malānī* gave Kābul to my mother (Gulruk̤ Begam) It is not right (for you) to go to Kābul'

Then said his Majesty 'As for Kābul, his Majesty *Indaus-malānī* often used to say, "My Kābul I will give to no one, far from it! Let none of my sons covet it There God gave me all my children, and many victories followed its capture" Moreover, this expression of opinion is recorded many times in his *Waqī'a nāma* What was the good of my showing kindness to the mīrzā from civility and brotherliness, if he now keep on talking in this way!'

Let his Majesty talk as he would, pacifying and conciliating, the mīrzā resisted more and more When he saw that there was a large following with Mīrzā Kāmrān, and that the mīrzā was in no way willing for him to go to Kābul, he had no resource but to move towards Bhakkar and Multān Having arrived in Multān, he halted one day (41a) A small quantity of corn was obtained in the fort and having divided that little amongst his men, he marched on till he came to the bank of a river which was seven rivers in one² He stood distracted There were no boats, and he had a large camp with him Then there came word that Khawās Khān,³ with several amīrs, was coming up behind

There was a Balūchī named Balkhshū (sic) who had forts

¹ Kāmrān may well have feared that Humāyūn would get no further than Kābul on his way to Badakhshān

² i.e., the Indus The begam's 'seven' is interesting Cf 'Sketch of the Hindūstāni Language, C J Lyall, p 1 n 'Hindo represents an earlier *Hindau*, being the modern Persian for the ancient Hendava, i.e., a dweller in the country of the *sapta hindū* (Sk *sapta sindhu*), or 'seven rivers,' now called, with the omission of two (probably the Saraswati and Drishadwati or Ghaggar) the Panj-āb'

³ A follower of Shīr Khān

and many men His Majesty sent him a banner and kettledrums, and a horse, and a head-to-foot suit, and asked for boats and also for corn After a time Bakhshū *Balūchī* got together and sent about a hundred boats, full of corn too, for the royal service,—a proper attention which pleased the Emperor very much He divided the corn amongst his people, and crossed the water¹ safe and sound May mercy be shown to Bakhshū for his dutiful service!

After a weary journey, they reached Bhakkai at last The fort is in the middle of the river and very strong The governor, Sultān Mahmūd (Bhakkari),² had fortified himself in it (41b) The Emperor alighted safe and well over against the fort, near which was a garden³ made by Mīrzā Shāh Husain *Samandar*⁴

At length his Majesty sent Mīr Samandar to Shāh Husain Mīrzā with this message ‘We have come into your territory under compulsion May your country be blessed to you! We shall not take possession of it Would to Heaven you would yourself come and pay us your respects, and do us the service which is our due! We intend to go to Gujrat, and should leave you your own country’ By tricks and wiles, Shāh Husain kept his Majesty as much as five months in Samandar, then he sent a person to wait on him, and to say ‘I am arranging my daughter’s wedding-feast, and I send (someone) to wait on you I shall come (later)’ His Majesty believed him, and waited still three months Sometimes there was corn to be had, sometimes not—The soldiers killed and ate their horses and camels Then his Majesty sent again, by

¹ The Gila, near Uch

² Foster brother of Shāh Husain *Arghūn*, and the man for whom Sidi 'Ali Reis negotiated terms with Humāyūn in 1555

³ A delightful garden, the Chār bāgh of Rūhri (Lūhrī), on the left bank of the Indus. Shāh Husain felt no anxiety as to military operations after hearing that Humāyūn had camped here Chār bāgh seems to denote a royal and private garden.

⁴ ‘A place in Hindūstān from which aloes are brought’ (Steingass, s.v.) Cf. *Samandarī*, aloe wood, of the Āīn (Blochmann 80) Samandar seems an equivalent for Sind

Shaikh 'Abdu-l-ghafūr,¹ to ask 'How much longer will you be? What prevents you from coming? (42a) Things have come to such a pass that there is inconvenience, and many of my men are deserting' The reply was 'My daughter² is promised to Mīrzā Kāmrān, and a meeting with me is impossible I could not wait on you'

As at this time Mīrzā Muhammad Hindāl crossed the river, some said he might be going to Qandahār³ On hearing this his Majesty sent several people after him to make inquiry and to say 'It is reported that you plan going to Qandahār' When questioned, the mīrzā said 'People have given a wrong impression' On this the Emperor came⁴ to see her Highness my mother

The mīrzā's *harem* and all his people paid their respects to his Majesty at this meeting Concerning Hamīda-bānū Begam, his Majesty asked 'Who is this?' They said 'The daughter of Mīr Bābā Dost' Khwāja Mu'azzam⁵ was standing opposite his Majesty, who said 'This boy will be one of my kinsmen (too?)'⁶ Of Hamīda-bānū he said 'She, too, is related to me' (42b)

In those days Hamīda-bānū Begam was often in the mīrzā's residence (*mahall*) Another day when his Majesty came to see her Highness my mother, he remarked 'Mīr

¹ Humāyūn's treasurer (*mīr i-māl*) whose official functions must now have been of the least pressing

² The admirable Mīl chūchak who insisted upon accompanying the blinded Kāmrān to Makka As her peer in compassion may be commemorated Chilma Beg *kūha* (B & H., II, 418.)

³ He encamped at Pāt (text, Patr), about twenty miles west of the Indus and about forty miles north of Sehwān Pāt is in the *sarkār* of Sīwistān, a little to the east of the highroad to Hyderābād, and not far north of Meīnī, the scene of Napier's victory of 1843 I am in debt to Major General Malcolm R Haig for the information that Pāt is 'now a ruin, having been destroyed in the latter part of the eighteenth century when two Kalhora chiefs of Sind called in the Afghāns to quell domestic troubles'

⁴ Leaving his troops to prosecute the siege of Bhakkar, and passing through Durbila where was his cousin, Yādgār nūsir From the wording it might be supposed that Gul badan was with her mother in Pāt, but I believe she was in Kībul at this time.

⁵ Cf Appendix, s. n. Hamīda bānū

⁶ (?) interrogative, but the preceding verb is *gufstand*, and not *pursī dand*

Bābā Dost is related to us It is fitting that you should give me his daughter in marriage' Mīrzā Hindāl kept on making objections, and said 'I look on this girl as a sister and child of my own Your Majesty is a king Heaven forbid there should not be a proper alimony, and that so a cause of annoyance should arise'

His Majesty got angry, and rose and went away Then my mother wrote and sent a letter, saying 'The girl's mother has even before this been using persuasion² It is astonishing that you should go away in anger over a few words' He wrote in reply 'Your story is very welcome to me Whatever persuasion you may use, by my head and eyes, I will agree to it As for what they have written about alimony, please Heaven, what they ask will be done My waiting eye is on the road' My mother fetched his Majesty, and on that day she gave a party When it was over, he went to his own quarters (48a) On another day he came to my mother, and said 'Send someone to call Hamīdā-bānū Begam here' When she sent, the begam did not come, but said 'If it is to pay my respects, I was exalted by paying my respects the other day Why should I come again?' Another time his Majesty sent Subhān Qulī, and said 'Go to Mīrzā Hindāl, and tell him to send the begam' The mīrzā said 'Whatever I may say, she

¹ This looks like a side glance at the wasted fortunes of royalty No kingdom! No revenues! Whence then the dowry? It is clear from the sequel that the important point was being pressed

Jauhar says that Hamīda had been already asked in marriage, but not betrothed or perhaps promised Her objections to marry Humāyūn seem personal, and may indicate preference for another and dislike for him She is said to have been fourteen years old and Humāyūn was thirty three, an opium eater, and much married already Her objections, whatever their true basis, must have been strong or they could hardly have survived, for Gul badan to record, through the many years of prosperity and proud motherhood which her husband's renewed sovereignty in India and her son's distinction secured to her

Behind Gul badan's story of the wooing of Hamīda there were doubtless many talks over 'old times' when the royal authoress was freshening her memory for her literary task, begun (it seems probable) when she was about sixty five and Hamīda some few years younger

² Mādar i dūkhītar az ī ham peshtas nāz mīhanad Perhaps, 'caressed the idea'

will not go Go yourself and tell her' When Subhān Qulī went and spoke, the begam replied 'To see kings once is lawful, a second time it is forbidden I shall not come' On this Subhān Qulī went and represented what she had said His Majesty remarked 'If she is not a consort (*nā mahram*), we will make her a consort (*mahram*)'

To cut the story short For forty days the begam resisted and discussed and disagreed At last her highness my mother, Dil dīr Begam, advised her, saying 'After all you will marry someone Better than a king, who is there?' The begam said 'Oh yes, I shall marry some one, but he shall be a man whose collar my hand can touch, and not one whose skirt it does not reach' Then my mother again gave her much advice (43b)

At last, after forty days (discussion), at mid-day on Monday (fault) Jumādī I-awwal (sic) 918H (September, 1541), and in Pātī (sic), his Majesty took the astrolabe into his own blessed hand and, having chosen a propitious hour, summoned Mīr Abū'l-baqā and ordered him to make fast the marriage bond He gave the mīr two laks of ready money for the dower¹ (*mlāhāna*), and having stayed three days after the wedding in Pātr, he set out and went by boat to Bhakkar

He spent a month at Bhakkar and he sent Mīr Abū'l-baqā to Sultān Bhakkarī The mīr fell ill while away, and went to the mercy of God²

His Majesty then gave Mīrzā Hindāl leave to go to Qandahār, and he dismissed Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsir to his own place, Lār He himself went towards Seīwān³ (Sehwān),

¹ Perhaps the ladies romance a little here Humāyūn was certainly at a loss for money now and later

² This is not a historic account of the death He was sent to Yādgār nāsir and was shot while crossing the river on his return to Rūhrī by adherents of Shāh Husain His death caused great grief to Humāyūn (B & H, II, 222)

³ At the end of September, 1541 Hindāl's leave is a sisterly gloss on his acceptance of an invitation to Qandahār given by its governor, Qarāchā Khān

which is six or seven days' journey from Tatta.¹ Sehwān has a strong fort, in which was Mīr 'Alika, a servant of his Majesty the Emperor.² There were several cannon, so no one could possibly go near. Some of the royal soldiers made trenches, and got near and gave him ('Alika) advice, and said (44a) 'Disloyalty is not well at such a time,' but Mīr 'Alika did not agree with them. Then they made a mine and cast down a tower, but they could not take the fort. Corn became dear and many men deserted. The Emperor spent six or seven months there.

Mīrzā Shāh Husain treacherously laid hands on the royal soldiers in all directions, and made them over to his people, and said 'Take them and throw them into the salt sea.' Three³ or four hundred would be gathered into one place and flung into boats and thrown into the sea, till as many as 10,000 were cast forth.

'As after this there were few men even with the Emperor, (? Shāh Husain) filled several boats with cannon and muskets, and came from Tatta against him. Sehwān is near the river (? Mīr 'Alika) hindered the coming of the royal boats and provisions, and sent to say '(?) I am maintaining my loyalty. March off quickly.' Having no remedy, the Emperor turned to Bhakkar.

When he came near and before he could reach it, Mīr (Shāh) Husain Samandar had sent word to Mīrzā Yādgār-nāsir (44b) 'If the Emperor, when he is retreating, should

¹ Semblance of relevance can be given to this statement only by reference to other writers. Humāyūn had intended to go to Tatta at this time, and was diverted from the journey by a slight success of arms. He then besieged Sehwān.

² Certainly not so, for 'Alika was an Arghūn and follower of Shāh Husain. Perhaps Gul badān wrote or intended to convey that 'Alika had served Būbar as once all the Arghūns had done. Perhaps she has confused the import of the story that Mīr 'Alika when sent by Shāh Husain to take command of Sehwān, actually passed through Humāyūn's lines and the bāzār without recognition as an enemy.

³ Text, thirty—*sīgād*. No wonder Humāyūn's force vanished! He is said to have left Hindūstān, i.e., Lāhor, with a following of 200,000. This presumably included Kāmrān's party, and was made up of soldiers and women, children, traders, servants, etc. At this time Humāyūn had lost both Hindūl's and Yādgār nāsir's troops.

⁴ The narrative becomes much confused here.

come near Bhakkar,¹ do not let him in Bhakkar may remain your holding I am with you, I will give you my own daughter' The mīrzā believed him and did not allow the Emperor to enter the fort, but wished to make him go on, either by force or fraud

His Majesty sent a messenger to say 'Bābā,² you are as a son to me I left you in my stead, so that you might help me in case of need What you are doing is done by the evil counsel of your servants Those faithless servants will be faithless to you also' Whatever his Majesty urged had no effect³ Then he said 'Very well! I shall go to Rāja Māldeo⁴ I have bestowed this country on you, but Shāh Husain will not let you keep it You will remember my words' Having said this to the mīrzā, the Emperor marched away by way of Jīsalmīr, towards Māldeo He reached Fort Dilāwai (Dirāwal), on the rāja's frontier, a few days later (45a) He stayed there two days Neither corn nor grass was to be had He then went to Jīsalmīr, and on his approach the rāja sent out troops to occupy the road, and there was fighting The Emperor and some others went aside off the road Several men were wounded Alūsh⁵ Beg, brother of Shāham Jalāīr and Pīr Muhammad the equerry, and Raushang the wādiobe-keeper, and some others⁶ At length the royal troops won and the infidels fled into the fort That day the Emperor travelled 60 *kos* (cii 120 miles), and then halted on the bank of a reservoir

Next he came into Sītalmīr, where he was harassed all day till he reached Pahlūdī, a *pargana* of Māldeo The

¹ The mīrzā was at Rūhī and had not possession of the fort Cf B & H, II, 226, for a good account of his treachery and credulity

² (?) 'My dear boy'—the Persian word of endearment The relative position and ages of Humāyūn and Yūdgār nāṣir make 'father' in appropriate

³ In this extremity Humāyūn turned his thoughts towards Makka

⁴ Rāja of Jūdpūr (Mārwār), who had proffered help

⁵ Var, Lūsh and Tarsh,—all three names of such disagreeable import as to suggest that they are either nicknames or were bestowed to ward off evil influences Perhaps *ūlīs* should be read. Cf App s n

⁶ Muqīm Harāwī, father of Nīzāmu d dīn Ahmad, took part in this engagement

rāja was in Jodhpūr, and sent armour and a camel's-load of *ashrafis*, and greatly comforted his Majesty by saying 'You are welcome! I give you Bikanir' The Emperor halted with an easy mind, and despatched *Athā Khān* (*Shamsu-d-dīn Ghaznawī*) to Mäldeo, and said 'What will his answer be?'¹

In the downfall and desolation in Hind, Mullā Surkh, the librarian, had gone to Mäldeo, and had entered his service (45b) He now wrote 'Beware, a thousand times beware of advancing March at once from wherever you are, for Mäldeo intends to make you prisoner Put no trust in his words There came here an envoy from Shīr Khān who brought a letter to say "By whatever means you know and can use, capture that king If you will do this, I will give you Nagor and Alwai and whatever place you ask for"' *Athā Khān* also said when he came 'This is no time for standing' So at afternoon prayer-time the Emperor marched off When he was mounting, they captured two spies and brought them bound before him He was questioning them when suddenly they got their hands free, and one snatched a sword from the belt of Muhammad *Gurd-bāz*² and struck him with it, and then wounded Bāqī *Gualānī* The other at once unsheathed³ a dagger and faced the bystanders, wounded several and killed the Emperor's riding-horse They did much mischief before they were killed (46a) Just then there was a cry, 'Mäldeo is here' The Emperor had no horse fit for Hamīda bānū Begam He may have asked for one for her from Tardī Beg,⁴ who apparently did not give it He then said 'Let the camel of Jauhar, the ewer-bearer, be got ready for me I will ride it, and the begam may have

¹ Presumably to *Athā Khān* a message from Huuṇyūn

² (?) *gurd bāzū*, strong limbed

³ Doubtful translation, *az mayān yak lashīda*

⁴ This excellent officer is frequently a scapegoat Our begam, however, imputes her blame tentatively For estimate of his character see B & H, I and II, *s n* Jauhar brings Raushan Beg into a similar story of this terrible journey

Several more (of the royal troop) hit others with arrows, the infidels turned to flee, and the fight was won. They brought in several prisoners alive. Then the camp went slowly, slowly on, but his Majesty was far ahead. Those who had recited the *fatiha* came up with the camp.

There was a mace-bearer named Bibbūd. They sent him galloping after the Emperor, to say 'Let your Majesty go slowly. By Heaven's grace, a victory has been vouchsafed, and the infidels have fled.' Bibbūd himself was taken to the presence, and conveyed the good news.¹

His Majesty dismounted, and a little water even (*ham*)² was found, but he was anxious about the amīrs, and said 'What has happened to them?' Then horsemen appeared in the distance, and again there was a cry 'God forbid! Mäldeo!'³ His Majesty sent a man for information, who came running back and said 'Ishān-tīmūr Sultān, and Mīrzā Yādgār, and Mu'nīm Khān are all coming, safe and sound.' They had missed their way. Their return rejoiced the Emperor, who rendered thanks to God.

Next morning they marched on. For three days they found no water (47b). On the fourth, they came to some very deep wells, the water of which was extraordinarily red. The Emperor halted and alighted near one of the wells, Tardī Beg Khān was at another, at a third, Mīrzā Yādgār, and Mu'nīm Khān, and Nadīm *kūka*, and at the fourth, Ishān-tīmūr Sultān, and Khwāja Ghāzī, and Raushan *lūha*.

As each bucket came out of the wells into reach, people flung themselves on it, the ropes broke, and five or six persons fell into the wells with the buckets. Many perished from thirst. When the Emperor saw men flinging themselves into the wells from thirst, he let anyone drink from

¹ And also, tied to his girths, two heads of foes which he flung at Humāyūn's feet.

² to brim of the cup of joy

³ These cries remind one that even now Humāyūn must have had with him a huge contingent of helpless beings, women and children and non combatants.

his own water-bottle When everyone had drunk his fill, they marched on again at afternoon prayer-time

After a day and a night they reached a large tank The horses and camels went into the water and drank so much that many died There had not been many horses, but there were mules and camels (4sa) Beyond this place water was found at every stage on the way to 'Umrkōt,¹ which is a beautiful place with many tanks

The rānā² gave the Emperor an honourable reception, and took him into the fort, and assigned him excellent quarters He gave places outside to the amirs' people Many things were very cheap indeed, four goats could be had for one *nupī* The rānā made many gifts of kids and so on, and paid such fitting service that what tongue could set it forth?

Several days were spent in peace and comfort

The treasury was empty Tardī Beg Khān had a great deal of money, and the Emperor having asked him for a considerable loan, he lent 80,000 *ashrafs* at the rate of two in ten³ His Majesty portioned out this money to the army He bestowed sword-belts and *cap-à-pie* dresses on the rānā and his sons Many people bought flesh horses here

Mīr Shāh Husain had killed the rānā's father For this, amongst other reasons, the rānā collected 2,000 or 3,000 good soldiers and set out with the Emperor for Bhakkar⁴ (4sb)

In 'Umrkōt he left many people, and his family and relations, and also Khwāja Mu'azzam to have charge of the *haiam* Hamida-bānū Begam was with child Three days after his Majesty's departure, and in the early morning of Sunday, the fourth day of the revered Rajab, 949H.⁵

¹ The little desert town must indeed have seemed a haven after the terrible journey, and not least so to the young wife who some two months later became the mother of Akbar Humāvūn reached 'Umrkōt on August 22nd, 1542 (Jumāda I 10th, 949H.)

² Text, *passim*, *ra'nā* The 'Umrkōt rānā's name was Parsād

³ (?) 20 per cent Cf Mens, 138

⁴ After a stay of seven weeks in 'Umrkōt

⁵ October 15th, 1542.

there was born his imperial Majesty, the world's refuge and conqueror, Jalālu d-dīn Muhammad Akbar Ghāzī. The moon was in Leo. It was of very good omen that the birth was in a fixed Sign, and the astrologers said a child so born would be fortunate and long-lived. The Emperor was some thirty miles away when Tārdī Muhammad Khān took the news to him. He was highly delighted, and by way of reward and largesse (*nisāt*) for the tidings he forgave all soever of Tārdī Muhammad Khān's past offences. He gave the child the name he had heard in his dream at Lāhōr, the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar.

On leaving this place, the Emperor went towards Bhakkar with as many as 10,000 men who had gathered round him, people of the rānā and of the outlying tribes and Sūdmas (Sodhas) and Samīchas (49a). They reached the district of Jūn, where there was one of Shāh Husain's servants with some troopers. He fled¹. Here there was the Mirror Garden, a very pleasant and enjoyable place where the Emperor alighted. He assigned its villages (?) of Jūn in *jāqūn* to his followers.

It is a six days' journey from Jūn to Tatta. The Emperor was as much as six² months in Jūn, and brought his family and people and the whole 'Umrikōt party there³. The Emperor Jalālu d-dīn Muhammad Akbar was six months old when they took him to Jūn. The party which had come from various places with the royal family and the *hājam* now broke up. As for the rānā, he marched off at midnight for his own country, on account of a coolness⁴ caused by some talk between him and Tārdī Muhammad Khān⁵. All the Sūdmas and Samīchas went off by agree-

¹ Cf. B & H, II, 258, for stories of the taking of Jūn.

² Other writers say nine.

³ Hamīda and her baby were good travellers. They left 'Umrikōt when the child was under five weeks old (November 20th), and joined Humāyūn early in December (1542).

⁴ *shukr rangī*. I do not find this word in dictionaries, and translate tentatively on the analogy of *shukr āb*, a tiff.

⁵ Other writers give Khwāja Ghāzī as the second in the quarrel.



INCIDENTS FOLLOWING THE BIRTH OF AKBAR

At the top, on the right, are Humādī bīnū and the child, on the left, the news is announced with sound of castanets and tambourines

In the middle, the hour of birth is being communicated to the astrologers

At the foot the news is being given to Humāyūn by Tardī Beg, and is welcomed by music and dancing

ment with him, and the Emperor was left alone, as before, with his own people

He sent brave Shaikh 'Ali Beg (*Jalāī*) and Muzaffar Beg *Turkmān* towards the large district of Jājkī (Hāj-kān) (49b) Mirzā Shāh Husain sent a force to attack him, and there was a famous fight. At last Muzaffar Beg was routed and fled, and Shaikh 'Ali Beg (*Jalāīr*) was killed and perished with all his men¹

A squabble arose between Khālid Beg² and Tarsh Beg, a brother of Shāham Khān *Jalāīr* and his Majesty turned all his favour to Tarsh Beg. So Khālid Beg deserted and went with all his men to Mir Shāh Husain. Then the Emperor ordered Khālid Beg's mother, Sultānam, to prison and this made Gul-barg³ Begam angry. Then he forgave Sultānam and gave her leave to go to the blessed Makkah with Gul-barg Begam. Soon after this Tarsh Beg also deserted. The Emperor cursed him, and said 'For his sake, I dealt harshly with Khālid Beg, who on this account left the circle of the faithful for the circle of the disloyal. Tarsh Beg will die young.' So it was! Fifteen days later, a servant killed him with a knife as he lay sleeping in a boat. When the Emperor heard of it he grew sad and thoughtful (50a). Shāh Husain Mirzā brought boats up the river to near Jūn, and his men and the Emperor's often fought on board, and many were killed on both sides. Day by day there were desertions to Shāh Husain. In one of these fights was killed Mullā Tāju-d-dīn whom his Majesty held in the greatest favour as a pearl of knowledge.

There was a squabble between Tardī Muhammad Khān and Mu'nūm Khān. Mu'nīm Khān consequently deserted

¹ A stubborn fight, and fateful for Humāyūn. It occurred in November, 1548

² Son of Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Ali Khalīfa Barlās and of Sultānam who appears to be Gulbadan's former hostess (14a)

³ Daughter of Khalīfa, and as such sister or half sister of Khālid, and daughter or stepdaughter of Sultānam. She is, I believe, the Gul barg of earlier episodes and a wife of Humāyūn.

Very few amirs remained, amongst them were Tardī Muhammad Khān and Mūzā Yādgār and Mūzā Payanda Muhammad and Muhammad Walī and Nadīm kūkā and Raushan kūkā and Khadang¹ the chamberlain. Then there was word brought 'Bairām Khān has reached Jūkhā (Haj-hān) on his way from Gujrāt.' The Emperor was delighted, and ordered Khadang and others to give him honourable meeting.

Meantime Shāh Husain Mīzā had heard of Bairām Khān's coming and sent to capture him. Bairām Khān rashly went into a hollow, and there they fell upon him (50b) Khadang the chamberlain was killed. Bairām Khān and the rest escaped, and the khān came and paid his respects to the Emperor.

At this time letters arrived (addressed to) Mīzā Hindāl for his Majesty from Qaiācha Khān, saying 'You have been long near Bhakkā, and during the whole time Shāh Husain Mīzā has given no sign of good-will but the reverse. By Heaven's grace, an easy way is open, and it is best for the Emperor to come here (to Qandahār). This is really advisable. If he will not come, come you yourself without fail.' As his Majesty's coming was delayed, Qaiācha Khān went out and met Mīzā Hindāl, and made over the town to him (in the autumn of 1541).

Mīzā 'Askarī was in Ghaznīn, and to him Mīzā Kāmīān wrote 'Qaiācha Khān has given over Qandahār to Mīzā Hindāl. Qandahār must be considered.' His idea was to take it from Mīzā Hindāl.

On hearing of these things, his Majesty came to his aunt Khānzāda Begam,² and said with great urgency 'Pray do

¹ Probably the father of Maywa jān. Bairām arrived April 12th, 1548 (Muharram 7th, 950H.)

² From this it would seem that Khānzāda was in Sind with Humāyūn. No other writer, I believe, mentions this or the embassy on which she is now sent. The Uzbegs and Turkmāns do not appear apropos here. If, as Gul badan says,—and her authority is good,—Khānzāda now went to Qandahār, she will have gone on to Kābul, possibly with Hindāl after he surrendered the town to Kāmrān. Of Mahdī Khwāja, Khānzāda's husband, I find no mention made by any



VISIT IN CELEBRATION OF AKBAR'S BIRTH

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me the honour of going to Qandahār and advising Mīrzā Hindāl and Mīrzā Kāmrān (51a) Tell them that the Uzbegs and the Turkomāns are near them, and that the best plan is to be friends amongst themselves If Mīrzā Kāmrān will agree to carry out what I have written to him, I will do what his heart desires'

Mīrzā Kāmrān came to Qandahār four days after the begam's arrival¹ Day after day he urged 'Read the *khutba* in my name', and again and again Mīrzā Hindāl said 'In his life-time his Majesty *Firdaus-makānī* gave his throne to the Emperor Humāyūn and named him his successor We all agreed to this, and up till now have read the *khutba* in his name There is no way of changing the *khutba*² Mīrzā Kāmrān wrote to her Highness, Dil-dār Begam³ 'I have come from Kābul with you in mind It is strange that you should not once have come to see me (51b) Be a mother to me as you are to Mīrzā Hindāl' At last Dil-dār Begam went to see him, and he said 'Now I shall not let you go till you send for Mīrzā Hindāl' Dil-dār Begam said 'Khānzāda Begam is your elder kinswoman, and oldest and highest of you all Ask her the truth about the *khutba*' So then he spoke to Ākā Her Highness Khānzāda Begam answered 'If you ask me! well! as his Majesty *Firdaus-makānī* decided it and gave his throne to the Emperor Humāyūn, and as you, all of you, have read the *khutba* in his name till now, so now regard him as your superior and remain in obedience to him'

To cut the matter short, Mīrzā Kāmrān besieged Qandahār and kept on insisting about the *khutba* for four

historian after Bābars death,—a singular fact and matched by the similar disappearance of the great Khalifa Abū'l-fazl names his tomb Cf App s n Khānzāda

¹ She had a weary journey from Jūn to Qandahār, and Kāmrān had another, but less toilsome, from Kābul Kāmrān kept Hindāl besieged, but there seems to have been a good deal of communication between besiegers and beleaguered

² Our memory is better than the begam's, and we remember that Hindāl found no difficulty in changing the *khutba* to his own name in Dihlī

³ She would be probably with her son Hindāl in the fort

months At last he settled it in this way 'Very well! the Emperor is now far away Read the *khutba* in my name and when he comes back, read it in his' As the siege had drawn out to great length, and people had gradually come to cruel straits, there was no help for it, the *khutba* was read (52a) He gave Qandahār to Mīrzā Askānī and promised Ghaznīn to Mīrzā Hindāl When they reached Ghaznīn, he assigned the Lamghānāt and the mountain passes (Tangayhā)¹ to the mīrzā, and all those promises were false²

Mīrzā Hindāl went off to Badakhshān, and settled down in Khost and Andarā-āb Mīrzā Kāmīān said to Dil-dār Begam 'Go and fetch him' When she arrived, the mīrzā said 'I have withdrawn myself from the turmoil of soldiering, and even³ Khost is a hermitage I have quite settled down' The begam answered 'If you intend to lead the darvish-life, even³ Kābul is a hermitage Live where your family and kinsfolk are That is the better plan' Then she made him come, and for awhile he lived as a darvish in Kābul

✓About this time, Mīr Shāh Husain sent to the Emperor to say 'The course favouring fortune is for you to march for Qandahār That is the better plan' His Majesty was willing, and replied 'Horses and camels are scarce in my camp, give me some to travel with to Qandahār' (52b) Shāh Husain Mīrza agreed, and said 'There are a thousand camels on the other side of the river, which I will send to you as soon as you have crossed ✓

[If words by Khwāja Kasak (? Kisik), kinsman of Khwāja Ghāzī, are recorded about the journey from Bhakkar and Sind, they are copied from the writings of the said Khwāja Kasak⁴]

¹ (?) The *Tangī* of Rudyard Kipling

² The *Tārīkh-i badāyuni* states that Ghaznīn was given to Hindāl and then taken away, and Mr Erskine comments on this as probably untrue (B & H, II 285 n.) Gul badan here supports 'Abdu l qadr

³ 'as good as any other place' is perhaps the import of the *ham*

⁴ We surmise that this is a gloss of Gul badan, who has copied from a diary or writings of Khwāja Kasak This name may be the Tūrkī *kisik*, a guard, a sentinel No Persian word seems appropriate



HYMN OF PRAISE FOR AKBAR'S BIRTH

Of especial interest are the faces of the open mouthed singers Hamida bāñū is probably the featureless person on the estrade

[To face p. 102

At length the Emperor went on board boats, with his-folk and family, army and the rest, and travelled for three days on the great river. At the frontier of Shāh Husain Mīrzā's territory is a village called Nuāsī¹. Here they halted, and his Majesty sent Sultān Qulī, the head-camel-driver, to fetch the camels. Sultān Qulī brought a thousand, all of which his Majesty gave to his amirs, and soldiers, and others, ordering them to be apportioned.

The camels were such that one might say they had not known city, or load, or man for seven, or rather seventy, generations. As horses were few, many people took camels to ride on, and what were left were assigned for the baggage. Every camel which was mounted, at once flung its rider to the ground, and took its way to the jungle (53a). Every pack-camel, when it heard the sound of horses' feet, jumped and bounded and tossed off its load, and went off and away to the jungle. If a load was fixed so fast that, jump as it would, it could not get it off, it carried it away and ran with it into the jungle. This was the way the Emperor started for Qandahār. Some 200 camels must have gone off like this.

Shāh Husain Mīrzā's head-camel-driver Mahmūd was in Sīwī (Sibī), and when the Emperor came near, he strengthened the citadel and returned into it. His Majesty came prosperously to within twelve miles' distance. Then word was brought that Mīr Allāh-dost and Bābā Jūjūk² had arrived in Sīwī from Kābul two days earlier, and were going on to (visit) Shāh Husain Mīrzā. By them Mīrzā Kāmrān had sent a dress of honour, and *tipūchāq* horses, and much fruit, and they were to ask for Mīrzā Shāh Husain's daughter³.

The Emperor said to Khwāja Ghāzī 'As there is the

¹ Runāī, B & H, II 262. The text is clear.

² Both these names may be sobriquets. Abu'l farz names Shaikh Abdu'l wahab as Allāh dōst's companion (A N, Bib Ind ed I 189 et seq.)

Jūjūk is perhaps the Tūrkī 'sweet savoured,' and an epithet of 'Abdu'l wahab, a lawyer with persuasive tongue.

³ The daughter has already been named as promised.

tie of father and son¹ between you and Allāh-dost, write and ask him in what way Mīrzā Kāmiān stands towards me, and what he will do if I go into his neighbourhood' (53b) He also gave this order to Khwāja Kasak 'Go to Sīwī, and ask Mīr Allāh-dost whether he thinks it advisable for me to come to Kābul' The khwāja set out, and the Emperor said 'We will not march till you have returned'

When the khwāja came near Sīwī, Mahmūd, the head-camel-driver, caught him, and asked 'Why are you here?' 'To buy horses and camels,' he answered Mahmūd ordered 'Feel under his arm and search his cap Heaven forbid that he should have brought a letter to win over Allāh-dost and Bābā Jūjūk' They searched, and brought out the letter from under his arm He had no chance to twist it into a fold² Mahmūd took it and read it, and, not letting the khwāja go, forthwith conveyed Allāh-dost and Bābā Jūjūk into the fort, and with various roughnesses made them swear 'We had no knowledge of his coming here' (54a) (?) He has taken the initiative,³ and 'Khwāja Ghāzi is related to us and he was with Mīrzā Kāmiān,⁴ and this is why he has written' Mahmūd decided to send all three to Shāh Husain, and Mīr Allāh-dost and Bābā Jūjūk spent the whole night smoothing him down and entreating him, and in the end they were set free

Mīr Allāh-dost sent 3,000⁵ pomegranates and 100 quinces for his Majesty's use, and wrote no letter, because he was afraid it might fall into the wrong hands By word of mouth he sent to say 'If a letter should come from Mīrzā Askarī or the amīls, it would not be bad to go to Kābul,

¹ Probably a spiritual relationship, that of religious teacher and disciple

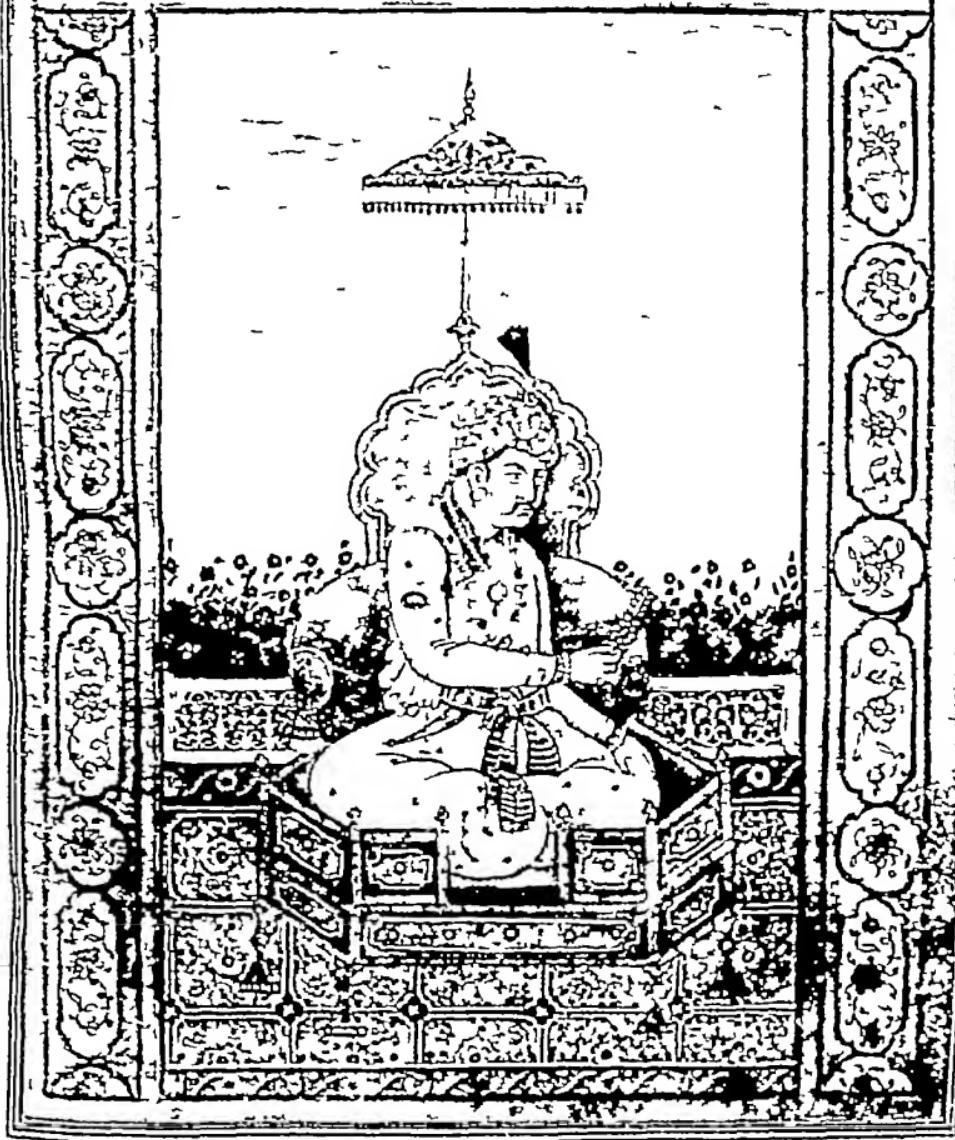
² (?) to toss it secretly into a corner

³ *sabq khwānda ast* Perhaps Kasak as a pupil 'has said his lessons to us,' i.e., to Allāh dost

⁴ He had been Kāmrān's *diwān* up to the time when the royal family left Lāhōr, and he joined Humāyūn when the brothers parted for Sind and for Kābul

⁵ Text, *sīṣād*, but perhaps only 800 should be read

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------|--------|--------|---------|------------------|-------------|
| لبرتار | نام و رمان و ا | نام ب | نام م | نام قوم | نام دلاد | نام محل جوز |
| ابوالعتيق حلال الدين | محمد خاون | حسن با | حسن با | حسن با | محمد کبرما و شاه | کل نور |



THE EMPEROR AKBAR
(ASHASHI VI)

but if not, it will be clear to your Majesty that nothing is to be gained by going. You have few followers. What, then, will happen?"

Kasak came and reported this. The Emperor was stupefied and bewildered, and said 'What is to be done? Where am I to go?' They all consulted together (54b) Tārdī Muhammad Khān and Bairūm Khān gave it as their opinion that it was impossible to decide to go anywhere but to the north and Shal-mastān,¹ the frontier of Qandahār. 'There are many Afghans in those parts,' they said, 'whom we shall draw over to our side. Mīrzā 'Askarī's people, too, will join us.'

Having settled it in this way, they recited the *fatiha* and went, march by march, for Qandahār. Near Shal-mastān they halted in a village named Rānī (? Rālī), but as it had snowed and rained, and was extremely cold, they determined to go on to Shal-mastān. At afternoon prayer-time an Uzbeg youth, mounted on a sorry and tired-out pony, came in, and cried out 'Mount, your Majesty! I will explain on the way, time presses. There is no time to talk.'² The Emperor mounted the very hour the alarm was given, and went off.

He went two arrows' flight, and then sent Khwāja Mu'az̄am and Bairūm Khān to fetch Hamīda-banū Begam (55a). They went and mounted her, but there was not a chink of time in which to take the Emperor Jalālu d-dīn Muhammad Akbar. Just when the begam left the camp to join his Majesty, Mīrzā 'Askarī came up with 2,000 troopers. There was an outcry, and when he heard it, he entered the camp³ and asked 'Where is the Emperor?' People said 'He went hunting long ago.' So the mīrzā knew that his Majesty had gone away just as he himself

¹ Approximately Quetta. The route seems to have been over the Bolan.

² The youth was Chupī Bahūdūr, a former servant of Humāyūn. Gul badan's story differs in some details from that told by other writers.

³ Late in 950H (1548). The little Akbar reached Qandahār on December 15th, 1548.

came in Then he took possession of the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar, and gave him in charge to his wife Sultānam,¹ who showed him much kindness and affection He made all the royal followers march, saying 'Go to Qandahār '

His Majesty, when he left, took the road to the mountains He went eight miles, and then travelled as fast as possible² (55b) He had with him Bānām Khān, Khwāja Mu'azzam, Khwāja Nīzātī, Nadīm *kūlā*³ and Raushan *kūlā*, and Hājī Muhammad Khān, and Bābā-dost the paymaster, and Mīrzā Qulī Beg *chūlī*,⁴ and Haider Muhammad the master of the horse, and Shaikh Yūsuf *chūlī*, and Ibrāhīm the chamberlain, and Hasan 'Alī, the chamberlain, and Ya'qūb the keeper of the armoury, and 'Ambar the superintendent and the royal agent (*mulk-mukhtār*), and Sambal captain of a thousand, and Khwāja Kasak⁵

Khwāja Ghāzī says⁶ 'I also was in attendance' This company went with the Emperor, and Hamīda-bānū Begam says,⁶ 'There were as many as thirty people,' and that of women there was, besides herself, the wife of Hasan 'Alī, the chamberlain

The prayer before sleep had passed before they reached the foot of the mountains The snow lay deep, so there was no road to go up by Their minds were full of anxiety lest that unjust creature, Mīrzā 'Askārī, should follow them At last they found a way up, and climbed it in some sort of fashion They were all night in the snow, and (at first) there was neither wood for fire nor food to eat

¹ I believe she was in Qandahār, and that she received the child on his arrival there

² Perhaps he rode four kos, and then, having waited for Hamīda, hurried on.

³ His wife, Mūham *anaga*, remained behind with Akbar With Akbar was also Athā Khān (Shamsu d dīn Muhammad) and his wife, Jī jī *anaga*

⁴ Humāyun's sobriquet for those who went to Persia with him, from *chūl*, a desert. Others in this list might claim it

⁵ Nīzāmu d dīn Ahmad puts the number of the party at twenty two

⁶ The tense used suggests conference and talking over Jauhar says that Khwāja Ghāzī joined Humāyun in Persia from Makka This looks like a contradiction of Jauhar

They grew very hungry and feeble (56a) The Emperor gave orders to kill a horse There was no cooking pot, so they boiled some of the flesh in a helmet, and some they roasted They made fires on all four sides, and with his own blessed hand the Emperor roasted some meat which he ate He used to say ‘My very head was frozen by the intense cold’

Morning came at last, and he pointed to another mountain, and said ‘There are people on that, there will be many Bilūchīs there, and there we must go’ On they went, and reached the place in two days They saw a few houses near them, and a few savage Bilūchīs whose speech is the tongue of the ghouls of the waste

The Emperor halted on the skirt of the mountain There were about thirty people with him The Bilūchīs saw him, and collected and came near He had settled comfortably in his tent, so they knew from far off that he was halting They said to one another ‘If we seize these people and take them to Mīrzā ‘Askarī, he will certainly give us their arms, and many gifts besides’ (56b)

Hasan ‘Alī, the chamberlain, had a Bilūchī wife who understood what the ghouls of the waste were saying, and who made it known that they meant mischief Early in the morning the Emperor thought of marching on, but they said ‘Our chief is not here When he comes, you shall go’ Besides this, the time had become unsuitable, and so the whole night was spent there in strict watchfulness

Part of the night had gone when the chief arrived He waited on the Emperor, and said ‘A *fārmān* has come from Mīrzā Kāmrān and Mīrzā ‘Askarī, in which it is written “It is reported that the Emperor may visit your dwellings If he does, beware!—a thousand times beware!—of letting him go Seize him and bring him to us You can keep his goods and horses Take him to Qandahār” As I had not seen your Majesty, I at first had this evil thought, but now I will sacrifice my life and the lives of my family, I have five or six sons, for your Majesty’s head,

or rather for one han of it (57a) Go where you wish God protect you! Mīrzā 'Askarī may do what he likes' The Emperor gave him a ruby and a pearl and some other things

At dawn he marched to honour Fort Bābā Hājī¹ by a visit He reached it in two days It belongs to the Garm-sīr,² and lies on the river (Halmand) There are many sayyids there, and they waited on the Emperor and showed him hospitality.

Next morning Khwāja 'Alāwalu-d-dīn (Jalālu-d-dīn) Mahmūd,³ having left Mīrzā 'Askarī, came with an offering of a string of mules, and one of horses and tents, etc., whatever he had Once more the royal heart was at ease Hājī Muhammad Khān kūlī⁴ brought thirty or forty troopers and offered a string of mules

✓ Being helpless because of the disunion of his brothers⁵ and the desertion of his amīrs, it now seemed best to the Emperor,—with reliance on the Causer of causes,—to decide upon going to Khurāsān⁶ (57b)

After many stages and a journey of many days, he came to parts adjacent to Khurāsān When Shāh Tahmās (*sic*) heard that he had reached the Halmand, he remained sunk in wonder and thought, and said The Emperor Humāyūn has come to our frontier by the perfidious revolution of the firmament,—the firmament unpropitious and crooked of gait! The Lord, whose existence is necessary, has led him here!

He sent all sorts of people to give honourable reception,

¹ Fort of the Pilgrim Father

² i.e., a warm climate, a winter habitation in low ground, and cultivated fields

³ He was a revenue collector of the mīrzā

⁴ Son of Bābī Qūshkā, an intimate of Bābar

⁵ Kūmrūn was master of Kābul and Ghaznī, Qandahār, Khutlūn and Badakhshān 'Askarī was attached to his full brother's fortunes, and Hindūl was a prisoner in Kābul Shīr Shīh ruled Bībar's Indian Empire, and Shāh Husain was in Hind Certainly there seemed no 'crack' to hold Humāyūn The date is December, 1543

⁶ i.e., on his way to Persia proper Humāyūn's messenger to the Shāh was Chupī Bahādur (55a and n.)

nobles and grandees, low and high, great and small All came to the Halmand to meet the Emperor¹

The Shāh sent all his brothers to meet his Majesty,—Bahrām Mīrzā, and Alqās Mīrzā, and Sām Mīrzā All came and embraced him, and escorted him with full honour and respect. As they drew near (the Shāh) his brothers sent him word, and he also came riding to meet the Emperor They embraced (55a) The friendship and concord of those two high placed pāshas was as close as two nut-kernels in one shell² Great unanimity and good feeling ensued, so that during his Majesty's stay in that country, the Shāh often went to his quarters, and on days when he did not, the Emperor went to his

✓In Khurāsān³ his Majesty visited all the gardens and the flower-gardens, and the splendid buildings put up by Sultān Husain Mīrzā, and the grand structures of olden days

There was hunting eight times while he was in 'Irāq, and each time trouble was taken for him also Hamīda-bānū Begam used to enjoy the sight from a distance in either a camel or a horse litter Shāhzāda Sultānam,⁴ the Shāh's sister, used to ride on horseback, and take her stand

¹ He had crossed the river without receiving invitation or permission, because of Kāmrūn's threatened approach The incidents of Humāyūn's visit to Persia are very entertaining (B & H, II 275 *et seq.*)

² A figure of speech too compact to leave room for the facts The intercourse of the pāshas was dramatic with human passion and foible Much of the story would be distasteful to Gul badan's family pride and vexatious to her orthodoxy

³ Not only in Khurāsān but on and off the route to Tahmāsp's summer quarters where the pāshas met, did Humāyūn visit note worthy places He saw Harrūt as his father had done, and later his devious journey took him to Jīm, where he saw the shrine of his own and of Hamīda's ancestor, the Terrible Elephant, Ahmād He visited the tomb of the Founder of the Safi dynasty at Ardabil, and the date of his visit (1544) makes it probable that he trod that 'Holy Carpet' of Ardabil which had been woven in 1540 for the shrine and which now attracts our respectful admiration in the Oriental Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum (S K M)

⁴ This lady afforded Humāyūn vital assistance in Persia, and even pleaded for his life when it was in the balance She was highly esteemed by Tahmāsp, and had influence in state affairs

behind her brother His Majesty said (to Hamīda-bānū) 'There was a woman riding behind the Shāh at the hunt She stood with her reins held by a white-bearded man People told me it was Shāhzāda Sultānam, the Shāh's sister' (58b) In short, the Shāh showed the Emperor much hospitality and courtesy, and laid a charge (on his sister) to show motherly and sisterly hospitality and sympathy (to Hamida-bānū Begam)¹

One day, when Shāhzāda Sultānam had entertained the begam, the Shāh said to her 'When (next) you offer hospitality, let it be arranged outside the city' It was on a beautiful plain, rather more than four miles out, that they pitched tents (*khaima*) and folding-tents (*khirga*) and an audience-tent (*bāigā*), and also set up *chatr*² and *tāq*³

In Khurāsān and those parts they use enclosing screens (*sarāpānda*), but they do not put them at the back The Emperor set up an all-round screen after the Hindū fashion (*hindūāna*) Having pitched the tents, the Shāh's people put coloured chicks (*cheghha*) all round His kinswomen and his paternal aunt were there, and his sisters and the ladies of his *haram*, and the wives of the khāns and sultāns and amirs, about 1,000 women in all splendour and adornment

That day Shāhzāda Sultānam asked Hamīda-bānū Begam (59a) 'Are such *chatr* and *tāq* met with in Hindūstan?' The begam answered 'They say two *dāng*⁴ with respect to Khurāsān, and four *dāng* with respect to Hin-

¹ An obscure passage in the text, and conjectural only in translation. The Persian words I have rendered 'motherly and sisterly' are *mādarāna wa khwāharāna*. On this same page occurs *hindūāna*, at 48b, *nikāhāna*, and at 62a, *pādshāhāna*

² (?) umbrella shaped tents

³ round topped tents or balconies, or arched erections

⁴ or *dānah* Hazarding a guess, the meaning 'quarter of the world' seems fittest to select from the several of *dāng* or *dānah*. Others conceivable applicable are 'a small grain' (anglice, peppercorn in this connection), and the sixth of anything (anglice, the colloquial 'fraction') Doubtless my difficulty is none to those experienced in colloquial Persian

Hamīda's ready use of a colloquial phrase to express that the reputedly greater contains the less is neat and diplomatic

dust in When a thing is found in two *dāng*, it is clear it will be found better in four

Shih Sultān said also, in reply to her own paternal aunt, and in confirmation of the begam's words 'Aunt, it is strange that you ask, "Where are two *dāng*? where are four *dāng*?" It is clear anything would be found better and more wonderful (in four than in two)'

They passed the whole day very well in sociable festivity At the time of eating, all the amirs' wives stood and served, and the Shih's ladies placed¹ food before Shihzida Sultān

Moreover, they were hospitable with all sorts of stuffs, embroidered and others to Hamida bīnu Begam, as was incumbent and fitting The Shih went on in advance² and was in his Majesty's quarters till the prayer before sleep (*ab*) When he heard that Hamida bīnu Begam had arrived, he rose from the presence and went home To such a height of pleasantness and kindness was he amiable!

Raushan *lūla*, spite of his former fidelity and services, was now faithless, in that foreign and perilous country, about some valuable rubies These used to be kept in the Emperor's amulet case (*lumur*³), and of this he and the begam knew and no one else If he went away anywhere, he used to give the amulet-case into her charge One day she was going to wash her head, so she bundled the case up in a handkerchief, and put it on the Emperor's bed Raushan *lūla* thought this a good chance to steal five rubies Then he agreed with Kliwaja Ghazi, and trusted them to him, meaning by and by to barter them away

When the begam came back from washing her head, the Emperor gave her the amulet case, and she at once knew

¹ *mundand*, used transitively, also at 1a

² *mihmāni lardand* (?) In the way of gifts, or perhaps by lavish decoration

³ i.e., from the place of entertainment to the town

⁴ Also *lumur*, an amulet case of gold or silver suspended on the neck

as a brother' Then the two sovereigns again became of one mind, and made clean heart to one another

The two wrong-doers were excluded from the presence, and were made over to the Shāh, who, when opportunity occurred, got possession of those rubies,¹ and, as to the men, ordered 'Let them be kept in custody'²

[His Majesty's time in 'Irāq was (now) spent happily In various ways the Shāh showed good feeling, and every day sent presents of rare and strange things] (c2a)

At length the Shāh despatched his own son and khāns and sultans and amirs with his Majesty to help him, together with good arms and tents, folding and audience tents, and *chatī* and *fāq* and *shamīnā*, excellently wrought, and all sorts of the things necessary and fit for a king, from the mattiess-warehouse and the treasury and the workshops and kitchen and buttery [In a propitious hour those two mighty sovereigns bade one another farewell, and his Majesty left that country for Qandahār³]

[At the time of his departure, he asked pardon from the Shāh for the offence of those two faithless ones (Khwāja Ghāzī and Raushan *kūla*), and, having himself forgiven them, took them with him to Qandahār

[When Mīrzā 'Askarī heard (1545) that he was on his way from Khurāsān and approaching Qandahār, he sent the Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar to Mīrzā Kāmiān in Kābul, who gave him into the care of Dearest Lady, Khānzāda Begam, and our paternal aunt] (c2b) He was two and a half years old when she received him into her charge She was very fond of him, and used to kiss his hands and feet, and say 'They are the very hands and feet of my brother the Emperor Bābar, and he is like him altogether'⁴

¹ (?) those already bartered away

² They were, it would seem, let down by tent ropes into the celebrated underground prison of Sulaimān's *Díván* (Jauhar, Stewart, 72)

³ Humāyūn again indulged his love of travel and sights, and delayed so long in Persian territory that the Shāh, coming unexpectedly upon him, angrily turned him off without ceremony

⁴ The child was just over three It was now that he and Bakhshī bññ travelled together to Kābul in the snow

[When Mīrzā Kāmrān was sure that the Emperor was approaching Qandahār, he went to Dearest Lady and cried, and was very humble, and said with countless pains¹ 'Go you (May your journey be safe!) to Qandahār to the Emperor and make peace between us.]

When she left (Kābul) she made over the Emperor Akbar to Mūzī Kāmīān, who gave him into the care of (Muhtarīma) Khānam. Then she travelled as fast as possible to Qandahār [The Emperor besieged Mūzā Kāmrān² and Mīrzā 'Askarī for forty days in the city, and he sent Bairām Khān on an embassy to Mīrzā Kāmīān.] (63a) [Mīrzā 'Askarī grew dejected and humble, admitted his offences, and came out and paid his duty to the Emperor, who then took possession of Qandahār (September 4th, 1545). He bestowed it upon the son of the Shāh, who in a few days fell ill and died⁴] When Bairām Khān⁵ arrived, it was given into his charge]

[The Emperor left Hamīda-bānū Begam in Qandahār] and set out after Mīrzā Kāmrān. Dearest Lady, Khānzāda Begam, went with him, and at Qabal chak⁶ she had three days of fever. The doctors' remedies were of no avail, and on the fourth day of her illness she passed to the mercy of God. At first she was buried at Qabal-chak, but three months later her body was brought to Kābul and laid in the burial-place of my royal father⁷

During several years that Mūzā Kāmīān was in Kābul,

¹ of persuasion

² The context shows that this is wrong, and so do the histories

³ Bairām saw Akbar in Kābul, and also Hindāl, Sulaimān, Haram, Ibrāhīm and Yādgār nāṣir, all under surveillance. The embassy reached Kābul before Khānzāda left, and she travelled with Bairām on his return to Humāyūn

⁴ He was an infant

⁵ The begam's chronology is faulty here. Bairām had returned before the capitulation

⁶ For location of this place cf. *Akbarnāma* H. B., I 477 n. It seems to have been in the mountain district of Tīrī, between the basins of the Halmand and the Arghandāb.

⁷ Khānzāda, Mahdī (her husband) and Abū'l ma'ālī are buried in the same spot

he had never made a hostile raid,¹ and now, all at once, when he heard of his Majesty's approach, desirous to break forth (? hunt) seized him, and he went into the Hazāra country² (63b)

Mīrzā Hindāl, who had chosen the daivish's corner (in Kābul), now heard of the Emperor's return from 'Irāq and Khurāsān, and of his success in Qandahār. He saw his chance, and sent for Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir, and said 'The Emperor has come to Qandahār, and has been victorious. Mīrzā Kāmrān sent Khānzāda Begam to sue for peace, but the Emperor did not agree to his soot of peace. The Emperor sent Bairām Khān as his envoy, and Mīrzā Kāmrān did not agree to what he proposed. Now the Emperor has given Qandahār to Bairām Khān and has set out for Kābul. Come now, let us, you and I, plan and agree together, and scheme how to betake ourselves to his Majesty.' Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir agreed, and the two made then plan and compact. Mīrzā Hindāl said 'You make up your mind to run away and when Mīrzā Kāmrān hears of it, he will certainly say to me "Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir has gone off, go and persuade him to come back with you"' (64a) You go slowly, slowly on till I come. Then we will go as quickly as we can and pay our respects to the Emperor.'

(Having so settled it, Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir ran away.) The news went to Mīrzā Kāmrān, who came back at once to Kābul and sent for Mīrzā Hindāl and said 'Go and persuade Mīrzā Yādgār-nāṣir to come back.' Mīrzā Hindāl mounted at once, and joined Mīrzā Yādgār nāṣir with all speed. Then they travelled post-haste for five or six days, when they were honoured by paying their duty to the Emperor.

¹ *tākhāt raftan* I do not know what the begam wishes to say. Kāmrān had made hostile raids to Badakhshān and against the Hazāras. One might read 'hunting expedition.'

² He had a Hazāra wife. Perhaps the passage about Kāmrān's hostile raid or hunting is merely an introduction to Hindāl's plan of escape (Cf B & H, II. 814, 815, for this story)

who planned to go to Tatta and Bhakkar In Khîzr Khân Hazâra's country, which lies on the way to Bhakkar, he married Habîba Begam to Āq Sultân and entrusted her to him, while he himself went on

The victorious Emperor dismounted in triumph in the Bâlâ-i-hisnî when five hours of the night of Ramzân 12th had passed,—prosperously and with safety and good luck¹ All those followers of Mîrzâ Kâmrân who had been promoted to the royal service, entered Kâbul with drums beating (November, 1545)

On the 12th of the same month, hei Highness my mother, Dil-dâr Begam, and Gul-chihâ Begam, and this lowly person paid our duty to the Emperor For five years we had been shut out and cut off from this pleasure, so now when we were freed from the moil and pain of separation, we were lifted up by our happiness in meeting this Lord of beneficence again Merely to look at him eased the sorrow-stricken heart and purged the blear-eyed vision (65b) Again and again we joyfully made the prostration of thanks There were many festive gatherings, and people sat from evening to dawn, and players and singers made continuous music Many amusing games, full of fun, were played Amongst them was this Twelve players had each twenty cards and twenty *shâhrukhîs* Whoever lost, lost those twenty *shâhrukhîs*, which would make five *misqâls*² Each player gave the winner his twenty *shâhrukhîs* to add to his own³

To widows and orphans, and kinsfolk of men who had

¹ The hour was probably fixed by astrological counsel Abû'l farz, who may follow the begam's statement, says that the entry took place on the 12th, other writers name the 10th The only reason for dwelling on the point is the agreement of Abû'l farz and Gul badan

² One *shâhrukhî* was about ten pence Four *shâhrukhîs* made one *misqâl*

³ Mr Erskine says that the earliest mention of cards as made known to him by an Oriental writer is when Bûbar sends some to Shâh Husain *Aigâhn* who was 'very fond' of them, by Mir 'Alî, the armour bearer, in 988H (1526 27) No doubt such an easy means of speeding the hours was known to the ladies of Bûbar's family as early as to anyone else, and Gul badan is perhaps merely describing a new game

been wounded and killed at Chausa and Kanauj, or Bhakkar, or who were in the royal service during those intermissions,¹ he gave pension, and rations, and water, and land, and servants. In the days of his Majesty's good fortune, great tranquillity and happiness befell soldiers and peasants. They lived without care, and put up many an ardent prayer for his long life (*ca*.)

A few days later he sent persons to bring Hamida-banū Begam from Qindahār. When she arrived, they celebrated the feast of the circumcision of the Emperor Jalālu d din Muhammad Akbar.² Preparations were made, and after the New Year they kept splendid festivity for seventeen days. People dressed in green,³ and thirty or forty girls were ordered to wear green and come out to the hills. On the first day of the New Year they went out to the Hill of the Seven Brothers and there passed many days in ease and enjoyment and happiness. The Emperor Muhammad Akbar was five years old when they made the circumcision feast in Kabul. They gave it in that same large Audience Hall Garden.⁴ They decorated all the bazars. Mirza Hindal and Mirzā Yadgar-nashī, and the sultans and amirs, decorated their quarters beautifully, and in Begā Begam's garden the begams and ladies made theirs quite wonderful in a new fashion.

All the sultans and amirs brought gifts to the Audience Hall Garden (*ca*). There were many elegant festivities and grand entertainments, and costly *lhi lats* and head-to-

¹ Text, *fatrathā*. The begam writes this word sometimes with a *tā* and sometimes with a *te*.

² i.e., Persian era. Nizāmu d din Ahmad places the date of entry into Kābul by Humāyūn on Ramzān 10th, 953H, and says Akbar was then four years, two months and five days old. Some place the event in the year 952H, but God knows the truth. It is strange that there should be doubt about a historical event occurring not more than fifty years before this resigned statement was made. Abū l fażl gives Ramzān 12th, 952H (November 17th, 1545), as the date of entry, which would fix the feast for March 1546, when Akbar was three years and five months old. (Born October 15th, 1542.)

³ Probably in honour of the spring season.

⁴ This is the garden where the ladies rejoiced after the victory at Pānīpat (10b). Hence, perhaps, the use of the word 'same'.

foot¹ dresses were bestowed Peasants and preachers, the pious, the poor and the needy, noble and plebeian, low and high,—everybody lived in peace and comfort, passing the days in amusement and the nights in talk.

Then the Emperor went to Fort Victory (Qila'-i-zafar)² In it was Mīrzā Sulaimān, who came out to fight but could not stand face to face with his Majesty and so decided to run away The Emperor then entered the fort safe and sound Then he went to Kishm, where, after a little while, an illness attacked his blessed frame and he slept day and night³ When he came to his senses, he sent Mun'im Khān's brother, Fazā'il Beg, to Kābul, and said 'Go! comfort and reassure the people of Kābul Set them at ease in various ways⁴ Let them not quarrel Say "It began ill, but has ended well "' (67a)

When Fazā'il Beg had gone, he (Humāyūn) went one day nearer Kābul⁵

False news having been sent to Mīrzā Kāmiān in Bhakkar, he set out post-haste for Kābul In Ghaznī he killed Zāhib Beg⁶ and then came on It was morning, the Kābulis were off their guard, the gates had been opened in the old way, and water carriers and grass-cuts were going in and out, and the mīrzā passed into the fort with all

¹ Perhaps there is expressed here a difference of degree of honour in the *khilat* and *sar u-pāī*

² Sulaimān had not made submission to Humāyūn,—hence this expedition to Badakhshān

³ He is said to have been insensible for four days He was nursed by Mūhchūchak and Bibi Fātima, an armed woman (*ordū begī*) of the *haram* She was, it would seem, mother of Zuhra īghā, the wife of Khwāja Mu'azzam, and to save whose life Akbar nearly lost his own (Elliot, V 292, B & H, II 830 *et seqq.*)

⁴ (?) As to his health, and their own safety from Kāmrān's return, and the continuance of the situation as he had left it The illness and convalescence lasted at least two months He fell ill in Shāhdān, between Kishm and Qila' i zafar, and Qarācha Khān, his vazīr, behaved with decision and good sense, so that Humāyūn's authority was upheld

⁵ Doubtful translation Humāyūn is elsewhere said to have gone to Qila' i zafar to recruit, and Fazā'il to have arrived in Kābul a few hours after the first news there of the illness Perhaps one of these occurrences is behind this obscure statement

⁶ Husband of Begā Begam's sister

When he came near to Kâbul, Mîrzâ Kâmrân sent for her Highness my mother and for me from the house,¹ and gave my mother orders to reside in the armourer's house. To me he said 'This is your house as well as mine. You stay here.' 'Why,' I asked, 'should I stay here? I will stay with my mother.' He then went on 'Moreover, write to Khîzr Khwâja Khân and tell him to come and join me and to keep an easy mind, for just as Mîrzâ 'Askari and Mîrzâ Hindâl are my brothers, so is he. Now is the time to help.' I answered 'Khîzr Khwâja Khân has no way of recognising a letter² from me. I have never written to him myself. He writes to me when he is away, by the tongue of his sons. Write yourself what is in your mind.' At last he sent Mahdî Sultân³ and Shîr 'Alî to fetch the khân. From the first I had said to the khân 'Your brothers may be with Mîrzâ Kâmrân, (but) God forbid that you should have the thought of going to him and joining them (esb). Beware, a thousand times beware of thinking of separating yourself from the Emperor.' Praise be to God! the khân kept to what I said.

When the Emperor heard that Mîrzâ Kâmrân had sent Mahdî Sultân³ and Shîr 'Alî to fetch Khîzr Khwâja Khân, he himself despatched Qambai Beg, the son of Mîrzâ Hâjî, to the khân, who was then in his own *jâgûn*, and said 'Beware, a thousand times beware! Let there be no joining Mîrzâ Kâmrân. Come and wait on me.' The result of this auspicious message was that the khân set out at once for court, and came to the 'Uqâbâin (Hill of the two eagles) and paid his respects.

When the Emperor passed Minâr Hill, Mîrzâ Kâmrân sent forward all his well-ordered soldiers under Shîr

¹ Presumably the brick and mud quarters of the ladies

² *Suâd na dârad li khaf i marâ shinasad* I understand that he had not seen her handwriting, and would not know whether a letter purporting to be hers was a forgery. Gul badan names one son only, Sa'âdat yâr, as being her own. She is now about twenty-five

³ Brother of Khîzr and of Yasîn daulat (Aq Sultân)

Afkan,¹ the father of Shiroya, so that they might go out and fight' We saw from above² how he went out with his drums beating, out beyond Bābā Dashtī, and we said, 'God forbid you should fight,' and we wept (69a) When he reached the Afghāns' village (*Dih-i-Afghānān*), the two vanguards came face to face The royal advance-guard at once drove off the mīrzā's³ and, having taken many prisoners, brought them to the Emperor He ordered the Mughals to be cut to pieces⁴ Many of the mīrzā's men who had gone out to fight were captured and some of them were killed and some were kept prisoners Amongst them was Jūkī Khān, one of Mīrzā Kamrān's amīrs

In triumph and glory and to the sound of music, the Emperor entered the 'Uqabāin, with Mīrzā Hindal in attendance and a splendid cavalcade He set up for himself tents and pavilions and an audience hall⁵ He gave Mīrzā Hindāl charge of the Mastan bridge,⁶ and stationed the amīrs one after another For seven months he kept up the blockade⁷ (69b)

It happened one day that Mīrzā Kamrān went from his own quarters to the roof (? of the citadel), and that someone fired a gun from the Uqabāin He ran and took himself off Then he gave this order about the Emperor Akbar 'Bring him and put him in front'⁸ Someone let his august Majesty (Humāyūn) know that Mīrzā Muhammad Akbar was being kept on the front, so he forbade the guns to be fired and after that none were aimed at the

¹ Son of Quch Bog, an amīr who lost his life in trying to protect Begā Begām at Chausā

² From the citadel where the ladies were

³ The begām underrates Humāyūn's victory The struggle was fierce, renewed and stubborn

⁴ Doubtful translation

⁵ I think she merely wishes to say that Humāyūn camped out on the 'Uqābāin, and did not take up quarters under a roof

⁶ Under it flows the stream which issues from the defile of Dih-i-yāqūb Cf. Āīn, Jarrett, I 404

⁷ Of the Bālā-i-husār, the actual citadel

⁸ Gul badān's narrative does not support the story that Māham anāga exposed herself to save Akbar This person,—who later on became so important,—is nowhere named by the begām as in charge of Akbar Her husband, Nadīm kūkā is so named

Bālā-i-hisāī Mirzā Kāmrān's men used to fire from the town upon the Emperor on the 'Uqābān. The royal soldiers put Mīrzā 'Askarī to stand right in front and made fun of him.

Mīrzā Kāmrān's men also used to make sallies from the fort, and on both sides many were killed. The royal troops were often the victors and then the others had not courage to come out. For the sake of his wives and children and the begams and the household, etc., the Emperor did not have the cannon fired nor did he place the large houses in difficulty (70a).

When the long siege was ended, they (*i.e.*, the ladies) sent Khwāja Dost Khāwand *madārchi*¹ to his Majesty to say 'For God's sake, do whatever Mīrzā Kāmrān asks, and save the servants of God from molestation.'²

The Emperor sent for them use from outside nine sheep, seven flasks of rose-water, one of lemonade, and seven sets of nine diess-lengths³ and some made-up jackets.⁴ He wrote '*For their sakes, I could not use force against the citadel, lest I should give an advantage to their enemies*'⁵

During the siege Jahān Sultān Begam who was two years old, died. His Majesty wrote 'Some time or other, if we had used force against the citadel, Mīrzā Muhammad Akbar would have disappeared.'

To finish the story. There were always people in the Bālā-i-hisāī from evening prayer till dawn, and there was a continuous uproar. The night Mīrzā Kāmrān went away,⁶ prayer-time passed and indeed bedtime came, and there was no noise at all (70b).

There was a steep stair by which people came up from

¹ Follower of the Musalmān saint Madūr.

² This message seems one from the imprisoned ladies. The khwāja to whom it was entrusted may now, as in the earlier siege of Kābul, have been Kāmrān's envoy to Humāyun.

³ *pārcha* and *nīmcha dokhta*. There seems between these words an apposition which I render by the Englishwoman's colloquial terms.

⁴ Presumably to some kinsman or official to whom the gifts were consigned.

⁵ *i.e.*, by injuring the royal household.

⁶ April 27th, 1547 (Rabi' I 7th, 954H.)

below When all the city was asleep, there suddenly sounded (on the stair) a clashing and clinking of armour, so that we said to one another 'What a noise!' Perhaps a thousand people were standing in front (of the fort) We were afraid, but all at once, without warning, off they went Qarācha Khān's son Bahādur brought us word that the mīrzā had fled¹

Having thrown a rope, they (or he) brought up Khwāja Mu'azzam by way of the wall²

Our people and the begam's people and the rest who were outside, took away the door which had kept us fastened in Bega Begam urged 'Let us go to our own houses' I said 'Have a little patience We should have to go by the lane and perhaps too someone will come from the Emperor' At that moment 'Ambar Nāzir came and said 'This is the royal order "They are not to leave that place till I come"' In a little while the Emperor came and embraced Dil dār Begam and me, and then Bega Begam and Hamida-bīnū Begam, and said 'Come quickly out of this place (71a) God preserve His friends from such a house, and let such be the portion of His foes' He said to Nāzir 'Guard one side,' and to Tardi Beg Khān 'Guard the other, and let the begams pass out' All came out, and we spent the evening of that day with the Emperor in perfect content till night became morning We embraced Māhi-chūchak Begam and Khānīsh āghā and those of the *haram* who had been with the Emperor on the campaign

In Badakhshān Mah-chūchak had a daughter born On the same night the Emperor had this dream 'Fakhru-n-nisā', my *māmā*,³ and Daulat-bakht came in by the door,

¹ Nizāmu d dīn Ahmad says that Kāmrān escaped by a hole fashioned for the purpose in the wall on Khwāja's side This suggests that Gul bīdan's husband connived at the evasion, unless one remembers that Khwāja Khwāja is a place outside Kabul

² I do not understand this sentence Either the followers of Kāmrān drew the khwāja up into the fort-precincts to take him with them, he having displeased Humāyūn and being nearly connected with him, or the ladies had him drawn up He was, it seems, not a prisoner (67b)

³ Fakhru n-nisā', the mother of Nadīm kūha, would seem from this to have been Humāyūn's own attendant in childhood

and brought something or other, and then left me alone' Consider it as he might, he could only ask 'What does this dream mean?' Then it occurred to him that, as a daughter had just been born, he would call her after the two, and taking *nīdā*¹ from one, and *bahkt* from the other, would run them together into *Bahkt-nīdā*'

Māh-chūchak had four daughters¹ and two sons,—Bakht-nīdā Begam, and Sakīna-bānū Begam, and Amīna-bānū Begam, and Muhammad Hakīm Mīrzā, and Farrukh-fāl Mīrzā (71b) She was with child when the Emperor went to Hindūstān (1554), and bore a son, in Kābul, whom they named Farrukh-fāl Mīrzā A little later Khānīsh *āghā* had a son whom they named Ibrāhīm Sultān Mīrzā

'The Emperor spent a full year and a half in Kābul, prosperously and happily, and in comfort and sociability²

After taking flight from Kābul, Mīrzā Kāmrān went to Badakhshān, and there stayed in Tāliqān One day the Emperor was in the Inner Gāiden,³ and when he rose at dawn for prayers, news came that many of the amīrs who formerly were with the mīrzā, had gone to him again Amongst them were Qarācha Khān and Musāhib Khān, and Mubāriz Khān and Bāpūs⁴ Many wretches fled by night and went to join the mīrzā in Badakhshān

In a propitious hour the Emperor also started for Badakhshān He besieged the mīrzā in Tāliqān, and after a time made him agree to submit and become obedient (72a) when he waited on the Emperor, who bestowed Kulāb on him, and gave Qila'-i-zafar to Mīrzā Sulaimān, Qandahār (sic , (?) Kunduz) to Mīrzā Hindāl, and Tāliqān to Mīrzā 'Askarī

¹ Gul badan does not name Fakhru nīdā who became the wife of Shāh 'Abū'l ma'sūl and of Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandī Perhaps she is Bakht nīdā'

² From 1547, but a term of one and a half years does not quite fit the facts Humāyūn started for the north on June 12th, 1548 (B & H., II. 352)

³ ḫṛta-bāgh

⁴ Perhaps it may be taken as an indication of the degradation of 'home life' that Qarācha and Bāpūs again joined Kāmrān, although the latter had exposed Qarācha's son and a wife of Bāpūs on the battlements, with the utmost dishonour, and had killed three of the latter's children and flung their bodies from the ramparts

how then, should I seek the hurt of my brothers? May God grant to you all the same divine and beneficent guidance, so that our agreement and concord may endure!" (73a)

There was wonderful cheerfulness and happiness because many officers and their followers met their relations again, for they too had been sundered because of their masters' quarrels. Nay! one might rather say they had thirsted for one another's blood. Now they passed their time in complete happiness.

On his return from Badakhshān the Emperor spent a year and a half in Kābul and then resolved to go to Balkh. He took up his quarters in the Heart expanding Garden,¹ and his own residence was over against the lower part of the garden, and the begams were in Qulī Beg's house because it was close by.

The begams said to the Emperor over and over again 'Oh, how the *rīwāj*² will be coming up!' He replied

¹ i.e., moved out of the city as a preliminary to marching.

² The following account of this plant is taken from Conolly's Travels, I, 213 n. It is translated by him from the *Malik-nāmeh adu'ya* (Treasury of Medicines). 'Ribas, rūras, rūwāj or jugārī (so named from a person of Nishāpūr who first discovered it) is a stalk two or three feet high, in appearance like beet (*safq*). In the middle are one or two short stems of little thickness, the leaves, which separate lengthwise like those of a lettuce, are downy and green, but towards the root, of a violet or whitish colour. The heart is late, delicate, juicy, acidulous and slightly astringent. Altogether the stalk is the size of a man's arm and when the plant is large every leaf has the size of a man's hand. And she was named *Ruwānd* (rhubarb hand) from the length of his hands. The root is called *rīwānd* (rhubarb). The top is like the claw of a fox. The flower is red, and the taste is subacid with a little sweetness. The seed is formed at the top of a long slender stalk which springs up annually in the centre of the plant. It grows where snow lies and in mountainous countries. The best grows in Persia. It is medicinally attenuating and astringent, gives tone to the stomach, and improves the appetite. A collyrium of the juice strengthens the eye and prevents opacity, and a poultice of it with barley meal is a useful application to sores and boils. The juice of the *rīwāj* is harsher than that of unripe grapes.' For mention of the name *rīwāj* see Tabagul-i-albarī, Lucknow lith ed., 215, *Tūzūl-i-jahāngīrī*, 17. Vullers, s.v., etc. Mr. J. R. Mitre writes (Mems., 1, 8 n.) 'It is described as some sort like beetroot, but much larger, red and white in colour, with large leaves that rise little from the ground. It is a pleasant mixture of sweet and acid. It may be the rhubarb, *rīwānd*'.

royal tents nor the pavilions of the *begams* had arrived, but the *mīhr-amez*¹ tent had come We all, his Majesty and all of us, and Hamīda-bānū Begam sat in that tent till three hours past midnight and then we went to sleep where we were, in company with that altar of truth (Humāyūn)

Early next morning he wished to go and see the *rīwāj* on the Kōh The begams' horses were in the village, so the starting-time passed before they came up The Emperor ordered that the horses of everyone who was outside should be brought When they came he gave the order 'Mount'

Bega Begam and Māh-chūchak Begam were still putting on their head-to-foot dresses, and I said to the Emperor 'If you think well, I will go and fetch them' 'Go,' he answered, 'and bring them quickly' I said to the begams and to Māh-chūchak Begam and the rest of the ladies 'I have become the slave of his Majesty's wishes What trouble waiting gives!' I was gathering them all together and bringing them when he came to meet me and said 'Gul-badan' the proper hour for starting has gone by (83b) It would be hot the whole way God willing, we will go after offering the afternoon prayer' He seated himself in a tent with Hamīda-bānū Begam² After afternoon prayers, there was the interval between two prayers before the horses arrived In this interval he went away³

Everywhere in the Dāman-i-kōh the *rīwāj* had put up its leaves We went to the skirts of the hills and when it was evening, we walked about Tents and pavilions were pitched on the spot and there his Majesty came and stayed Here too we passed the nights together in sociable talk, and were all in company of that altar of truth

In the morning at prayer-time, he went away to a

¹ Perhaps a tent of Humāyūn's invention, in the name of which *mīhr* means sun Cf 'another of his (Humāyūn's) inventions was a tent which had twelve divisions, corresponding to the signs of the Zodiac Every sign had a lattice through which the lights of the stars of dominion shone' (*Akbar nāma*, H Beveridge I 801)

² Perhaps, a tent of Hamīda having come, he seated himself in it

³ (?) the start was made to see the *rīwāj*

distance (*bīrūn*), and from there wrote separate letters to Bega Begam and to Hamīda bānū Begam and to Māh-chūchak Begam and to me and to all the begams,¹ saying 'Becoming spokeswoman of your own fault, write apologizing for the trouble you have given God willing, I shall say farewell and go to join the army either at Farza or Istalif, and if not we shall travel apart' (74a)

Then everyone wrote to apologize for having given trouble, and sent the letter for his holy and elevating service

In the end his Majesty and all the begams mounted and rode by Lamghān to Bihzādī At night each one went to her own quarters, and in the morning they ate (? alone), and at mid-day prayer-time rode to Faizā

Hamīda-bānū Begam sent nine sheep to the quarters of each one of us Bibī Daulat-bakht had come one day earlier to Farza and had got ready plenty of provisions and milk and curds and syrup and sherbet and so on We spent that evening in amusement In the early morning (we went) above Faizā to where there is a beautiful waterfall Then his Majesty went to Istalif and passed three days, and then in 958H² marched towards Balkh

When he crossed the pass, he sent *fārmāns* to summon Mīrzā Kāmrān and Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā 'Askarī, and said 'We are on the march to fight the Uzbegs, now is the time for union and brotherliness You ought to come as quickly as possible' Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā 'Askarī came and joined him (74b) Then march by march they came to Balkh

In Balkh was Pīr Muhammad Khān,³ and on the first

¹ Humāyūn's comprehensive displeasure looks like a fit of temper directed against every and any one It is possible, however, that a page which might describe other untoward matters besides unpunctuality, has been altogether lost The sentence which now continues the story, places all the ladies, deprived of their evening of talk and amusement, in chastened solitude

² B & H, II 368, has 956H (1549), and other differences of detail

³ Son of Jānī Beg, and uncle of the famous 'Abdu'l-lāh Khān Uzbeg He ruled till 974H (1566-67)

day his men sallied out and drew up in battle array. The royal army carried off the victory, and Pir Muhammad's men tasted defeat and returned to the city. By the next morning the khān had come to think 'The Chaghatai are strong, I cannot fight them. It would be better to get out and away.' Just then the royal officers joined in representing that the camp had become filthy, and that it would be well to move to a desert place (*dasht*). His Majesty ordered them to do so.

No sooner were hands laid on the baggage and pack-saddles, than others raised a clamour and some cried out 'We are not strong enough.' Since such was the Divine will, the royal army took the road without cause from a foe, without reason or motive¹. The news of their march reached the Uzbegs and amazed them. Try as the royal officers would, they produced not a scrap of effect. It could not be hindered the royal army ran away (75a).

The Emperor waited a little, and when he saw that no one was left, he too had to go. Mīrzā 'Āskarī and Mīrzā Hūndāl, not having heard of the confusion, rode up to the camp. They found no one and saw that the Uzbegs had gone in pursuit, so they too took the road and made for Kunduz. After riding a little way, his Majesty stopped and said 'My brothers are not here yet how can I go on?' He asked the officers and attendants whether anyone would bring him news of the princes. No one answered or went. Later on word came from the Mīrzā's people in Kunduz that they had heard of the disaster and did not know where the princes had gone. This letter upset the Emperor very much. Khizr Khwāja Khān said 'If you approve, I will bring news.' 'God's mercy on you!' rejoined his Majesty. 'May they have gone to Kunduz!' (75b).

Two days afterwards the khwāja, to the Emperor's great

¹ From other sources we learn that the royalists were anxious on two grounds, (1) as to the threatened arrival of an overwhelming Uzbeg force from Bukhārā, and (2) lest Kāmrān should again take Kābul and have their families at his mercy. The last was perhaps the dominant motive for the flight without a pursuer.

Instantly hands were laid on Begī āghā Bibī, condemned of fate to die, and she was torn in pieces. In consequence of this affair, Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā Ibhāhīm were displeased with Mīrzā Kāmīān, or rather they became his enemies (76b) They wrote to the Emperor that Mīrzā Kāmīān wished to thwart him and that this could not be better seen than in his failure to go to Balkh with him.

After this the ^{Kāmīān} Mīrzā, in Kūlāb,¹ could not find, in his terror-stricken thoughts, any better remedy than to become a dervish. He sent his son, Abū'l-qāsim (Ibhāhīm) to Mīrzā 'Askarī, and betook himself to Tāliqān with his daughter 'Āyisha (Sultān Begam), and said to his wife (Muhtarīma Khānam) 'Do you and your daughter follow me later. I will send for you to whatever place I settle on. Till then go and stay in Khost and Andar-āb.' The khānam was related to the Uzbeg khāns, and some of her kinsfolk let the Uzbegs² know 'If you want booty, there are goods and men and women servants, take these, and let the lady go free, for if 'Āyisha Sultān Khānam's³ nephew hears to-morrow (that she has been hurt), he will certainly be very angry with you.' By a hundred plans and wiles, and with a hundred anxieties, and without her goods, she got free from the Uzbeg bondage, and reached Khost and Andar-āb. Here she stayed.

When Mīrzā Kāmīān heard of the royal disaster in Balkh, he said 'The Emperor is not so friendly to me as he was.' (77a) So he left Kūlāb, and went hither and thither.

At this time (1550) his Majesty came out from Kābul. When he reached the Qibchāq defile, he inadvertently halted in a low-lying place, and Mīrzā Kāmīān, coming from higher ground, armed and equipped, poured down foes upon him.

did not dare even to make war without her consent. Perhaps Kāmīān's devotion extended to the armed force she disposed of. It was clearly in Tarkhān Begā's eye.

¹ In Kūlāb were the kinsfolk of his wife, Māh Begam, sister of Hāram Begam, daughter of Sultān Wais Qibchāq, and sister of Chakr 'Ali Khān.

² i.e., across whose country she had to travel.

³ (?) Mughal Khānam.

Either at Chārikārān or Qarā-bāgh there was fighting with Mīrzā Kāmrān and his Majesty's army was successful. The mīrzā fled to the mountain passes (*tangayhā*) and Lamghānāt¹

Āq Sultān (Yasīn-daulat) who was the mīzī's son-in-law, said in effect to him (*gusta bāshad*) 'You are continually thwarting the Emperor. What is the meaning of it? It is not what should be (78a) Either make your submission and obeisance to the Emperor or give me leave to go, so that men may distinguish between us.' Mīrzā Kāmrān said fiercely 'Have my affairs come to such a pass that *you* offer me advice?' Āq Sultān also spoke angrily, 'If I stay with you, my position will be unlawful,' and left him at once, and went with his wife (Habība) to Bhakkār. The mīzā wrote to Mīzā Shāh Husain, and said 'Āq Sultān has displeased me and has gone away. If he comes to Bhakkār, do not let his wife be with him. Part them and tell him to go where he likes.' Shāh Husain Mīzā at once, on receiving the letter, deprived Habība Sultān Begam of the company of Āq Sultān and let him depart for the blessed Makkā²

In the fight at Chārikārān, Qaracha Khān³ and many of Mīrzā Kāmrān's well-known officers were killed.

'Āyisha Sultān Begam⁴ and Daulat-bakht aqhdāha were in flight for Qandahār, and were captured at the Khumār Pass, and brought in by the Emperor's people. Mīrza Kāmrān went to the Afghāns,⁵ and stayed amongst them (78b)

From time to time his Majesty used to visit the orange-gardens. That year also, according to his old habit, he went to the mountain passes (*tangayhā*) to see the oranges. Mīzā Hindāl was in attendance, and of the ladies (*haramān*),

¹ Nizāmu d dīn Ahmad, 'mountains of Mandrud' B & H, II 393, 'by the Pass of Būdpaj towards the Afghān country'

Kāmrān was the son in law of Mir Shāh Husain Arghān, and was therefore able to secure thus interference with Āq Sultān's domestic affairs

² Cf. Elliot, V 233

³ i.e., Langīhān

⁴ Kāmrān's daughter

earlier services in one scale and the service of this night in the other. God willing! whatever claim you can make, you shall be exalted to its degree'¹ One by one he allotted their posts, and then called for his own cuirass and surtout, and high cap and helmet.

His wardrobe-keeper had lifted up the wallet when someone sneezed,² and he set it down for a while. Because of this delay, the mīrzā sent to hurry him. Then the things were brought quickly, and he asked 'Why were you so long?' The man replied 'I had lifted the wallet when someone sneezed, and I therefore put it down. So there was a delay' (80a)

The mīrzā replied 'You were wrong (You should have) said rather "May there be a blessed martyrdom"' Then he went on 'Friends all! be my witness that I abjure all forbidden things and all indecorous acts' Those present recited the *fātiha* and prayed 'May there be benediction' He said 'Bring my vest and cuirass and surtout' He put them on and went out to the trenches to encourage and solace his men Just then his *tābaqchī*,³ hearing his voice, cried 'They are attacking me' The mīrzā, hearing this, dismounted and said 'Friends, it is far from brave to give no help when my servant is at the point of the sword' He himself went down into the trench but not one of his followers dismounted Twice he sallied from the trenches, and in this endeavour became a martyr

I do not know what pitiless oppressor slew that harmless youth⁴ with his tyrant sword! Would to Heaven that

¹ Perhaps the notion of this sentence is, 'To night's service will equal or outweigh previous services, and the lower to night's scale is forced, the greater will be my largesse'

² It is hardly necessary to say that sneezing is by many nations regarded as an omen of other things than catarrh

³ Clerk of the scullery who has charge of plates and dishes, utensils which are often of value by material and by workmanship

⁴ Hindāl was killed on 7'l qn'dū 21st, 958H (November 20th, 1551) He was born before March 4th, 1519 (Menis, 258), and was therefore in his thirty third year

Gul bādān always speaks of her brother with affection, and her story

merciless sword had touched my heart and eyes, o! Sa ādat-yār, my son's, o! Khvīr Khwāja Khān's! Alas! a hundred regrets! Alas! a thousand times alas! (sob)

HEMISTICH

O well a day! O well a day! O well a day!
My sun is sunk behind a cloud

All may be said in a word Mīrzā Hindāl gave his life
freely for his sovereign

Mīr Bābā Dost lifted him up and carried him to his quarters He told no one, and fetched servants and placed them at the entrance and gave orders 'Tell everyone who asks, that the mīrzā is badly wounded and that the Emperor forbids anyone to enter'

Then he went and said to his Majesty 'Mīrzā Hindāl is wounded' The Emperor called for a horse, 'I will go and see him' Mīn 'Abdu-l-hai said 'He is badly hurt It is not desirable that you should go' He understood, and however much he tried,¹ he could not help it, he broke down

Jū shāhī² was Khvīr Khwāja Khān's *jāqī* The Emperor sent for him and said 'Take Mīrzā Hindāl to Jū shāhī and care for his burial' The khān took the camel's bridle,³ and when he was going away with weeping and lament and voice uplifted in grief, (sia) his Majesty heard of the mourning and sent him word 'We must have patience' This sorrow touches my heart more closely than yours, but I do not give way because I think of our bloodthirsty, tyrannical foe With him at hand, there is no help but patience' Then the khān with a hundred regrets, miserable and stricken, conveyed the body to Jū shāhī, and there laid and left it

If that slayer of a brother, that stranger's friend, the

shows that she mourned his loss many years Her book lets us ^{see}³ a group of living and feeling men and women

¹ haf-hardand Perhaps as a matter of etiquette which demands composure in public

² Text, Jusahī, the modern Jalālābād, on the road to Kābul

³ i.e., that of the camel which bore the corpse

monster, Mīrzā Kāmrān had not come that night, this calamity would not have descended from the heavens

His Majesty sent letters to his sisters in Kābul, and the city at once became like one house of mourning. Doors and walls wept and bewailed the death of the happy, martyred mīrzā.

Gul-chihia Begam had gone to Qarā Khān's house. When she came back, it was like the day of resurrection.¹ Through weeping and sorrow she fell quite ill and went out of her mind.

It was by Mīrzā Kāmrān's evil fate that Mīrzā Hindāl became a martyr. From that time forth we never heard that his affairs prospered. On the contrary, they waned day by day and came to naught and perished (sib). He set his face to evil in such fashion that fortune never befriended him again nor gave him happiness. It was as though Mīrzā Hindāl had been the life, or rather the light-giving eye of Mīrzā Kāmrān, for after that same defeat he fled straight away to Salim Shāh, the son of Shīr Khān. Salim Shāh gave him a thousand *rūpīs*.² Then the mīrzā told in what position he was, and asked help. Salim Shāh said nothing openly in reply, but in private he remarked 'How can a man be helped who killed his own brother, Mīrzā Hindāl? It is best to destroy him and bring him to naught.' Mīrzā Kāmrān heard of this opinion and one night, without even consulting his people, he resolved on flight and got away, and his own men had not even a word of it. They stayed behind and when news of the flight reached Salim Shāh, he imprisoned many of them.

Mīrzā Kāmrān had gone as far as Bhīra and Khūsh-āb when Adam Ghakkar, by plot and stratagems, captured him and brought him to the Emperor (s2a).

To be brief, all the assembled khāns and sultāns, and high and low, and plebeian and noble, and soldiers and the

¹ Khwānd amīr compares a hustle of people to the day of resurrection.

² A scornful measure of Kāmrān's fall. The date is the end both of 1552 and of 959H.

APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE WOMEN MENTIONED BY BĀBAR, GUL BADĀN, AND HAIDĀR¹

I Āfāq (Āpāq) Begam

Princess of the Universe, Ar *āfāq*, four quarters, universe, etc

She is mentioned, without clue to her parentage, by Bābar, as a wife of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqīā*. He mentions her again, with others of the mīrzā's widows, as seen in Harāt in 912H (1506-7), and here his wording, both in the Turkī and the Persian texts, allows the inference that she is a daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd *Mīrān-shāhī*. Mr Erskine translates the passage thus 'Pāyanda Sultān Begam, my father's sister, Khadīja Begam and the other (Turkī, *yena*, Pers., *dīgar*) daughters of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā.'

When greeting the ladies, Bābar gave Āfāq precedence over Khadīja, and notes the fact. Khadīja was not a woman of birth.

Husain *Bāyqīā* married three daughters of Abū-sa'īd, Shahr-bānū, Pāyanda, and Āfāq. The last bore him no child, but she reared and educated nine children of his by her own foster-sister, Bābā *āghācha*.

Early in 932H (1525) she went from Harāt to Kābul and was received by Bābāi (before his departure for India in November, 1525) with all possible respect and kindness. He gives the impression that

¹ This Appendix makes no pretence at completeness. It contains the gatherings in of work on Gul badan Begam's *Humāyūn-nāma*

she was an affectionate and devoted woman, and says that her tender care of her husband in illness surpassed that of all the other ladies of the *harem*

News of her death reached Bābar when he was besieging Chandīnī in 934H (January, 1528)

Mems , 182, 183, 204

II Āfāq Begam (No 26)¹

She was a daughter of Sultān-bakht Begam, her father's name has not yet come to my knowledge, she was a grand-daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīzān

Bābar mentions the arrival of a daughter of Sultān-bakht Begam in Āgra in 935H (October, 1528), and Gul-badan supplies the name Āfāq by naming an Āfāq of this parentage as at the *Mystic Feast* in 938H (1531)

Gul badan Persian text, 25b
Mems , 387

(*Afghānī aghācha*, the Afghān lady See Mubārīka Bibī)

III Afroz-bānū Begam (No 33)

Pers *afroz*, dazzling, illuminating, and *bānū*, (?) a form of *bān* (*vān*), which in composition means holding, possessing Also a prince or chief

Nothing is said to identify her She was at the *Mystic Feast* (1531)

Gul badan, 25b

IV Āghā Begam (No 34)

Turkī, *āghā*, a title of honour, and Ar *sulfān*, sway, pre eminence Steingass classes the word *āghā* as Persian It may be *āla*, lady The dictionaries do not apply it to women.

Mentioned as at the *Mystic Feast* in 1531 She may be *Bāyqā* (*infia*)

Gul badan, 25b

¹ Numbers so entered are those of Gul badan's guest-list, 25b et seq

V Āghā Begam Bāyqīā

She was a daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqīā* and of Pāyanda Sultān Begam *Mīrān shāhī*. Her descent being so high through both parents, her name *Āghā* rises above its frequent application to wives of less degree. Here it may have the meaning of *chief* or *great*. She married her cousin Murād who was a son of Rābi'a-sultān Begam (Bedka). The *Habību-s-siyārī*, 327 *et seq.* (lith. ed.), states that she died before she reached maturity, but this does not agree with Bābāi's statements. The *Habīb* places her death earlier than 912H (1506).

Mems., 181

Habību s siyārī, lith. ed., 327 *et seq.*

VI Aghā hūkā (No 78)

Wife of Mun'īm Khān, at Hindal's Feast (1537)

Gul badān, 26a

VII Āghā-sultān āghācha (No 37)

(?) The lady of chief honour

She was a wife of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā (died 1494), and mother of Yādgār Sultān Begam (Bābāi's half-sister). She was present at Hindāl's marriage feast (1537), and probably at the Mystic Feast, in 1531. She is classed amongst 'our begams'.

Gul badān, 25b

Mems., 10, 14

VIII Āghā-sultān Sultanam Dughlāt

She was a daughter of Muhammad Haidar Mīrzā *Dughlāt*, and therefore aunt of the author of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*. She married 'Abdu-l-qadūs Beg *Dughlāt* in Kishghai, after 877H (1472-73). Her husband was alive in 900H (1494-95), and was governor of Khost for Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī*.

Mems., 27

Tārīkha, E and R, 95, 103

IX Āī Begam *Mūān-shāhī*

Turkī, āī, moon Her name is not mentioned in the Memoirs, but is so by Ilminsky (Mems , 80, Ilminsky, 84, line 7 from foot)

She was the fourth daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Mūzā *Mūānshāhī* and Khānzāda *Termiżī* II , and wife of Jahāngīr Mīrzā, half-brother of Bābar She was betrothed in 901H (1495-96), married in 910H (1504-5), bore one daughter, and was widowed not later than 914H (1508-9)

Mems , 80, 128
Pavet de Courteille, I 57, 262

X Āka Begam *Bāyqīā*

Āla is clearly a title, her personal name I have not found Her sister who is styled *Bedka*, appears to be named Rūbi'a sultān

Daughter of Mansūr Mūzā *Bāyqīā* and Filoza Begam *Mūān-shāhī*, full and elder sister of Sultān Husain Mūzā Bābāi states (Mems , 176, 177) that she married (his uncle) Sultān Ahmad Mīrza, and had a son, Kīchak Mūzā (the young or small prince) But he does not mention her, either as Āka or otherwise, amongst Ahmad's wives (Mems , 22), and he says that Ahmad had two sons who died young Kīchak, however, lived to change his military occupations for literature

It is singular that a marriage of the oldest *Mīrān-shāhī* of his generation with the oldest *Bāyqīā* girl should not have been entered in Ahmad's biographical notice

Mems , 22, 28, 176, 177

(Ālīsh—Anūsh—Begam, Ūlūs, q 1)

XI Amīna Begam *Mūān-shāhī*

Ara , amīn, faithful

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak
Gul badān, 71a

XV 'Aqīqa ('Afīfa) Begam *Mūnān-shāhī* (No 47)

Her name may be 'Aqīqa, a cornelian, etc., or 'Afīfa, a chaste, modest woman. Our begam's MS allows both readings. I have used the first but the second seems the more appropriate in sense.

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and Bega and second child of both parents. She was born in Āgra in 1531. It is only from her aunt Gul-badan that anything is known of her. She went to Guālīār with her mother in (?) 1534, she was at Hindāl's feast in 1537, and she was lost at Chausa on June 27th, 1539.

Gul badan, 22a, 28b, 25, 88b, 84b

XVI *Ātūn māmā* (No 38)

An *ātūn* is a teacher of reading, writing, and embroidery, etc. *Māmā* seems to be the title of old women servants.

Bābar mentions an *ātūn* in 1501. He met her at Pashāghar whither she had come on foot from Samarqand and where she again joined her old mistress, Bābar's mother, Qutluq-nigār Khānam. She had been left behind in the city after Shaibāni's capture of it because there was no horse for her to ride.

Gul-badan mentions an *ātūn māmā* as at Hindāl's wedding feast, and as *māmā* seems to be used for old servants, it is possible that she is the woman mentioned by Bābar.

Gul badan, 26a
Mems, 99

XVII 'Āyisha-sultān Begam *Bāyqīā* (No 9)

Ar 'aish, joy, and *sultān*, sway, pre eminence Cf App s n Daulat

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrza *Bāyqīā* and Zobaida *aghācha* of the Shaibān sultāns. 'Āyisha married, (1) Qāsim Sultān *Uzbeg*, a Shaibān sultān, and by him became the mother of Qāsim Husain Sultān *Uzbeg*, an amīr of Bābar and Humāyūn, (2) by *yanga-līl* (cf App s n Jāmal), Būran Sultān,

badan meant this note as to parentage to apply to both begams (Nos 11 and 12) (*Cf. App. s n Sultānā*)

Gul badan, 6b, 24b
Mems., 22, 78, 90

XIX Āyisha sultān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*

Daughter of Kāmrān Mīrzā

Firishta (lith ed., 241) and Khāfi Khān (I 122) say that Kāmrān left one son and three daughters

The son is called Ibrāhīm by Gul-badan, and in the early part of the *Akbār-nāma* (*Bib. Ind.*, ed., I 226) Later the A N and other sources call him Abū'l qāsim, which may be a hyronymic (*kunyat*)

As to the three girls, Firishta, without naming them, gives the information that

- No 1 married (a) Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā (*Bāyqāra*)
- No 2 „ (b) Mīrzā 'Abdu-r-rahman *Mughal*
- No 3 „ (c) Fakhru d dīn *Mashhadī* who died in 986H or 987H (No 88 of Blochmann's list *Āin-i-akbarī*, p. 406)

Khāfi Khān's information coincides with Firishta's verbally as to No 3, and actually as to No 1 and No 2. For Ibrāhīm can be described as a son of a 'paternal uncle,' if these words are used in the wide sense given to them by contemporary writers. So, too, can 'Abdu-r-rahman, if he be No 183 of Blochmann's list—a Dughlāt Mughal and cousin of Mīrzā Hādar

If we take the girls' names from other sources we can (conjecturally in part) fill up the table

1 Gul-rukh is known in history as the wife of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqāra*

2 Kāmrān's eldest daughter, Hābilā, was forcibly parted from her husband, Āq Sultan, in about 1551-52, and this would allow re-marriage to (b) or (c). Āq Sultan went to Makka from Sind 1551-52 (*cir.*), and his name disappears thenceforth

3 'Āyisha may also have married (b) or (c)

In the list of the pilgrims of 983H (A N *Bib. Ind.*

ed , III 145) are included 'Hājī and Gul-'izār, *farzandān* of Mīrzā Kāmrān '¹ We have already the three names required by Firishta and Khāfi Khān, i.e., Gul rukh, Habība and 'Āyisha Gul-'izār is 'superfluous' Perhaps *farzandān* may be read 'offspring,' and she may be a granddaughter Or Habiba or 'Āyisha may have predeceased Kāmrān, and for this reason three girls only be specified by historians who wrote of the time of his death

Which one of the daughters was the Hājī Begam of 983H is not clear² It would seem that this was her second pilgrimage, since she is enrolled as Hājī before starting Kāmrān's daughters may have gone—one or all—to Makka after his blinding and during the four years of his life there Of the three, Gul-rukh is the only one of whom it is on record that she was widowed in 983H, and therefore quite free to make the *Haq* Ibrāhīm Husain died in 981H (1573)

Hājī Begam was visited by Akbar and she died in 991H (1583)

Gul badan, 77a, 78a
Akbar nāma, III 145, 873, 875

XX 'Āyisha-sultān Khānam and Khātīm, Mughal Khānam, Chaqhatātī Mughal

Daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Khān In 909H (1503) she, together with other ladies of her father's household, was captured by Shaibānī and was married by him She bore him a son, Muhammād-rahīm Sultān She wrote Turkī verses, and her name

¹ Mr Beveridge tells me that a MS *Akbar-nāma* belonging to the R A S has *wa* (and) before *farzandān*, but it does not seem practicable to read this

² Professor Blochmann (*Āīn*, p 465, No 187) has (by a slip of reference numbering) confused Hājī Begam, daughter of Kāmrān, with Hājī Begam, Bega Begam, widow of Humāyūn The latter died in 989H before Gul badan's party returned Bega Begam went to Makka in 972H

appears in the biography of poetesses by Fakhrī amīrī Mūzān Haidar says that some of her children and of two other Mughal khānams (Daulat and Qūt-līq) who were forcibly married at the same time, were living and reigning in Transoxiana at the time of his writing the *Tārīkh-i-tashīdī*. She is, I think, the 'Āyisha named by Gul-badan on 76b

Tārīkh, 160, 192, 198

Gul badan, 76b

Jawāhiru l'ajāib Fakhrī amīrī (Bodleian MS.)

XXI Bābū āghā (Māmā āghā)

Professor Blochmann writes the name *Bābū*, but *Bābū*, darling, or *Bānū*, lady, would seem more appropriate for a Persian woman

She was the wife of Shīhābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān *Nishāpūrī*, and was related to Hamīda-bānū Begam *Jāmī*, Akbar's mother. Abū'l-fazl calls her Māmā āghā. He says that she was a good woman, and that on her death Akbar went to her house and offered condolence because of her relationship to his mother.

Shīhābu-d-dīn was *damād* of Māham *anaga*, and as *damād* is presumably used here in its more common sense of 'son-in-law,' Bābū āghā would seem to be a daughter of Māham *anaga*.

Akbar nāma, Bib Ind ed., III 716

Aīn-i akbarī, Blochmann, 888

XXII Bachaka Khalīfa

Gul badan, Bachaka, Memis, Bachaka, Ilmunschy, Bīchkā Vambéry (*Chaghatāische Sprachstudien*) has an appropriate word, *bechek*, Chok (? Kokand), *zierrath*, ornament. The name is presumably Chaghatāi Turkī, as the bearer of it was an old family servant of a Farghāna household.

Bachaka was a head woman-servant (*khalīfa*) of Bābāi's household, and was one of two women who escaped with his mother and him from Samarqand in 1501. There was a Bachaka whom Gul-badan calls a 'khalīfa of my royal father,' lost at Chausa

in 1530, and the two references may well be to the same woman.

Mom 98
Gulbedan 107
Himans 5 110

XXIII Badu'l Jamil Khanum *Chaghatai Mughal*

To *Badu'l Jamil Khanum* *Chaghatai Mughal*
The Queen of rare beauty At Urih astonishing,
rare jewel beauty

Daughter of Sayid Khan *Chaghatai Mughal*, ruler of
Kish, her first cousin, once removed, of Babar.
She married Bawali Sultan of the Uzbeg khanaks. On
her father's death her brother Rashid insisted upon
her divorce, and then gave her in marriage to Muham-
madi *Burki* whom Haidir Mirza styles 'a peasant'

Tar. Iml. I AP. 13

XXIV Badu'l Jamil Begum *Miran shah* (No. 2)

She was a daughter of Sultan Abu-sa'id Mirza
Miran shah. She went to India during Babar's life,
was at the double wedding of his daughters, and at
the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Mom 187
Gulbedan, 11a 18b 21b

XXV Bairam (Maryam) Sultan

Himansky calls her Bairam Khwanda amir, Maryam
The Memms give her no name

She was the elder daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza
Bayqara and Minghi bi *aqhadcha Uzbeg*. She married
Sayyid Abdu'l khah Mirza of Andikhud (a Timurid
through his mother). She bore a son, Sayyid Birka,
who served Babar.

Himansky, 209
Memms, 181
Habibu's syur, 127 *et seq.*

XXVI Bakhshī-bānū Begam

Princess Good-fortune Pers *bakhsh*, fortune, and *bānū* (*vān*), possessing

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and of Gūnwar Bibī, and was born in Jumāda I, 947H (September, 1540), the year of the Timūrid exodus from India. She fell into the hands of her uncle 'Askarī with her father's camp and the baby Akbar in 1543. In 1545 she was sent with Akbar in the depth of winter from Qandahār to Kābul. In 957H (1550), and when ten years old, she was betrothed by her father to Ibrāhīm, son of Sulaimān and Haram. Ibrāhīm (b 1534) was six years older than Bakhshī-bānū, and he was killed in 1560, leaving her a widow of twenty. In the same year she was given in marriage by Akbar to Mīrzā Sharafudd-din Husain *Ahrārī*.

Gul-badan, 89b
Akbar-nāma, 8 n

XXVII Bakhtu-n-nisā' Begam

Felicity of womanhood, Pers *bakht*, felicity, fortune, and *nisā'*, woman.

She was a daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak, and was born in 957H (1550). Gul-badan says that she received her name in accordance with Humāyūn's interpretation of a dream. There is, however, ground for thinking that she and Fakhru-n-nisā', both mentioned in the histories as daughters of Māh-chūchak, are one and the same person. Gul-badan enumerates three daughters of Māh-chūchak, and says that there were four. It is her habit to state, in such matters, one more than she names. She mentions Bakht, but not Fakhr.

Of Bakhtu-n-nisā' it is recorded in the histories that she came from Kābul to India with her son Dīwālī, after the death of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm, her brother (993H—1584-85), and that she was concerned in a reconciliation effected by Salīma-sultān Begam between Akbar and Salīm.

Of Fakhru-n-nisā̄ it is recorded that she married Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī *Tevmuzī* and Khwāja Hasan *Naqsh-bandī*

Gul badan, 71a
Khīfi Khān (*Bib Ind* ed), I 226
Badāyunī, Lowe, 72
Al bar nāma, s n
Aīn i akbarī, Blochmann, 322

XXVIII Bakht-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī (No 4)

Daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī and mother of Āfāq (No 26) She went to India shortly after its conquest by Bābur, and was at the Mystic Feast

Mems, 887
Gul badan, 11a, 24b, 25b

XXIX Barlās Begam (No 36)

There is no clue given by which to identify this lady Others who were, like herself, at the Mystic Feast might, by tribal descent, be styled *Barlās*

Gul badan, 25b

(Bedha, Rabi'a, q i)

XXX Bega āqhā

Bega is perhaps not a personal name It appears to be a feminine of *beg*, but its application is not always to the daughters of *begs*, as may be seen by the instances here given. For a confusion of *bega* and *yanga* cf App s n Zainab

A messenger of Mīrzā Kāmrān to Haram Begam

Gul badan, 75b

XXXI Bega Begam Bāyqrā

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqīā and Pāyanda-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī, full sister of Haidar Bāyqīā, first cousin of Bābar, wife of Bābar

Mūzā of Hājī Taikhān who was her first cousin and the son of Rabī'a-sultān (Bedka) *Bāyqā*

Khwānd-amīr says that she married 'Khwāja Māulānā' This may be a second marriage or a confusion with Kīchak, her sister

Mems, 177, 181
Habību s-siyār, 827 *et seq*

XXXII Bega Begam and Bibī

The Emperor Jahāngīr, when in his Memoirs enumerating the gardens of Kābul, mentions one which belonged to Bega Begam, a widow of his father's grandfather, *i.e.*, Bābar Which of Bābar's wives is indicated by this title cannot be said with certainty

Jauhar has a story of Kāmrān's want of consideration for 'Bega Begam,' in which the points useful here are that on the day in 1545 when Humāyūn took Kābul from Kāmrān, he asked for food from Bega Begam, and he said of her that she was the very person who had brought Bābar's bones and laid them in Kābul

These two references of Jahāngīr and Jauhar are probably to the same lady Of Bābar's wives, Bibī Mubārīka (*Afghānī aghācha*) appears to me the most suitable to the time and task

Bābar's body was still in its Āgra tomb in 1539 (*Gul-badan*, 34b) Māham was then dead, Dil-dār's movements exclude her from consideration, Gul-rukh, if living, will have left Āgra with her son Kāmrān before the Timūrid exodus was enforced by defeat at Kanauj, Bibī Mubārīka remains, the probable and appropriate agent for fulfilling Bābar's wish as to the final disposition of his body She lived into Akbar's reign, and her character and respected position in the household add to the sum of probability that she would discharge this duty

Bābar's body was not removed till after the *fīrat*, *i.e.*, the Timūrid downfall and exodus Bega Begam,

or, as we may call her with Jauhar for the sake of clearness, the Bibi must therefore have remained behind the rest of the royal family. This may have occurred in one of two natural ways. She might have stayed in Agra under the protection of one of the religious families and safeguarded by pious duty to Babar's tomb until Sher Khan gave permission to remove the body and a safe escort for her journey to his frontier, or she may even have been in Bengal and at Chausa with Humayun, and, like Bega (*Hājī*) Begam, have been made captive. It would harmonize with Sher Khan's known actions if he had allowed Babar's widow to remove his bones, and if he had aided her pious task.

Tāmāz al-i arbi'ah al-1
Babur invar in Jauhar, Pers. text no. 90II (November,
¹⁵¹⁰
P. A. H. II. 2, n

XXXIII Bega Begum *Morān shāhī* (No. 15)

This Bega was a daughter of Mirza Ulugh Beg *Morān shāhī* who was king of Kabul and known as *Kabul*. She was Babar's first cousin, and may be that daughter of her father who married Muhammad Ma'sum Mirza *Bayqra*. Gul badan styles her *ama*, paternal aunt, of Humayun, *anglic*, she and he were first cousins, once removed. She was at the Mystic Feast in December, 1531.

Gul badan, 216
 Mem. 180

XXXIV Bega Begum *Mirān shāhī* (?) No. 22 Bega Khan Begam)

Daughter of Sultan Mahmud Mirza and Khanzada II *Irmāz*, wife of Haidar Mirza *Bayqra* and mother of Shud Begam (No. 28).

In 901H (1496) Sultan Husain *Bayqra* was besieging Hisar which was held for Bega's brother Mas'ud,

and in which she was Husain became apprehensive about the spring rains and patched up a peace, the seal of which was Bega's marriage with his son Haidar, her first cousin through his mother, Pāyanda sultān The betrothal took place outside the fort, with assistance of such music as could be procured, and later when the bride was taken to Harāt, the marriage was celebrated with the splendour loved by Husain and befitting a Timūrid alliance Haidar was a full Timūrid, Bega was one on her father's side, and probably as a Termīzī sayyida's daughter, drew through her also a strain of the same blood

Haidar died before his father, i.e., before 912H (April, 1506)

Mems., 30, 38 180
Gul badan, (?) 24b, No 22

XXXV Bega (Hajī) Begam (?) Begchik Muqhal (?) No 50

She was a daughter of Uncle (*fāqhātī*) Yādgār Beg who was, I think, a brother of Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, father of Kāmīan's wife, Gul-rukh Abū'l-fazl calls Bega Begam *dukhtar-i-faqhātī i-uālidā-i Jannat-ashyānī* Yādgār and 'Alī *Begchik* are both styled *Mīrzā*, but this elevation is due, it seems, to their alliances with the royal house Haidar calls their brothers *mīrs*

Bega married Humayun, her first cousin, and she was the wife of his youth It is out of harmony with the custom of his house that his chief wife should be of less than royal descent So far as I have been able to trace the matter, he never made an equal marriage Gul-barg *Burlas*, 'Khalifa's' daughter, whose second husband he was, had best claim to high birth

The first son, perhaps first child, of Bega and Humayun was Alamīn, born 934H or 935H (1525) when his father was about twenty one and was in Badakhshan Bibar has commemorated his birth both by mentioning it and by preserving his o.

congratulatory letter to the young father Al-amān died in infancy

Bega came to India after Bābar's death (December, 1530), and her second and last mentioned child, 'Afīfa (Aqīqa) was born in 1531

In 1531 (*circa*) Gul-badan's story (29b, 30b) shows Bega as resenting neglect by Humāyūn who accepts invitations to his sisters quarters in camp in preference to hers and Gul barg's. Some impressions of this story make one question whether the Bega it tells of is Humāyūn's wife or another. But the circumstances that she is associated with a wife, Gul-barg, that Gul-badan does not speak of her as being other than the 'Bega Begam' of the home circle, Humāyūn's allusions to the elder kinswomen, and the absence of the deference customary to an elder woman, seem sufficient justification for identifying the complaining Bega with the wife (Gul-badan, it may be observed, mentions one other Bega Begam—i.e., *Mirān shāhī*, daughter of Ulugh Beg *Kabuli*.)

Bega was with Humāyūn during the idleness of his decadence in Bengal, and with her was her sister, the wife of Zahid Beg. Zahid offended Humāyūn, and Bega tried in vain to obtain his forgiveness.

She was captured at Chausa by Shīr Khān, and here she lost her little girl, 'Aqīqa. The historians all call her *Hajī* Begam in recording her capture, it is only Gul-badan who calls her Bega Begam. She was returned in safety to Humāyūn under the escort of Shīr Khān's best general, Khawāṣ Khān. How soon she was returned I am not able to say. Support is to be found for the view that she was sent to Āgra directly after Humāyūn's arrival there, and also for the view that she was not returned to him until after a considerable time had elapsed. I do not know whether she went to Sind with the exiles or was sent later direct to Kābul. She was in Kabul with the royal family after 1545. She remained there with the

other ladies when Humāyūn made his expedition to recover Hindūstān, and she came with Hamīda, Gul-badan, and the rest to join Akbar in 964H (1557) After this she built her husband's tomb near Dihlī, and became its faithful attendant

Akbar is said to have been much attached to her, and she was to him like a second mother She went to Makka in 972H (1564-65), and returned three years later One thing raises the question whether this was her first pilgrimage, viz., the fact that all the sources, except Gul-badan's, call her *Hajī Begam* Why is she singled out to bear this title? It had been earned by many royal ladies before any one of the trio of great writers under Akbar had put pen to paper The same unexplained distinction is conferred by the histories on a daughter of Kāmrān In both these cases a renewed pilgrimage might serve as the explanation of the distinction

Bega Begam died in 989H (1581), shortly before Gul-badan's return from Makka She had almost certainly passed her seventieth year, and was perhaps still older Abū'l-fazl says that her affairs were settled by one Qāsim 'Alī Khān He also records a visit of Akbar to her in her last illness, as well as an earlier visit of hers to him made from Dihlī in 981H

Gul badan, 22a, 23b, 29b, 30b, 78b, 83a

Mems, 888, 890

Akbar nāma, Bib Ind ed, index, s n

Āin-i-ahbarī, Blochmann, 465 (Confusion has been made here with Kāmrān's daughter)

Badiyūnī, Lowe, 808 n

History of the Afghāns, Dorn, I 108

XXXVI Bega Kilān Begam (No 22)

She was at the Mystic Feast No clue is given to her identification The 'kilān' of her title indicates a pre-eminence which would suit Bega Mīrān-shahī, daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā (Cf supra)

Gul badan, 24b

XXXVII Begum Sultan Begam Marū

Daughter of Sanjar Mirzā of Marv, first wife of Sultan Husain Mirzā *Bāyqarā* mother of Badi'u-z-zaman Mirzā 'She was extremely cross tempered, and fretted the mirza beyond endurance, till, driven to extremities by her insufferable humour, he divorced her. What could he do ? He was in the right'

A bad wife in a good man's house,
Even in this world, makes a hell on earth

May the Almighty remove such a visitation from every good Moslim, and God grant that such a thing as an ill tempered, cross grained wife be not left in the world '

There is no later record of her

Mems., 181 182

XXXVIII Begum Sultan Begam Mirān-shāhī (No 13)

Daughter of Sultan Khalil Mirzā *Mirān-shāhī*, grand daughter of Sultan Abu Sa'id, first cousin of Babar

Gulbadan, 24b

XXXIX Begum Sultan

Daughter of Shaikh Kamal Died 915H (1538)

Beale's 'Oriental Biography, ' n

(Begum Sultan, Sa'ādat-hakht, q.v.)

XL Begum Sultan aghacha

Inferior wife (*chahar-shambhu*) of Sultan Husain Mirzā *Bāyqarā*

Mems., 183

XLI Buwa Begam

Mother of Sultan Ibrahim *Lōdī Itghān* She attempted to poison Babar in December, 1526 (933H) in the manner which is told in most of the histories The

Iqbāl-nāma adds the interesting detail that she was deported from India, and that on her enforced journey to Kābul she drowned herself in the Indus

Mems, 347
Gul badan, 19a

XLII Chūlī Begam Izāk

The Desert Princess, Pers *chūlī*, desert. The Memoirs have *Jūlī*, but the meaning of *chūlī* (which looks like a sobriquet) suits the descent of the begam better than anything which can be extracted from *jūlī*. Ilminsky writes *Jūlī*, but for this the Mems are his possible warrant. B.M. Pers Or 10,623, f 128, l 7, has a clearly pointed *chūlī*, also on f 124b.

Chūlī (Juli) Begam was a daughter of a beg of the Azāks, and married Sultān Husain Bāygād before he conquered Khwāsān in 878H (1473). She was the mother of Sultanām, his eldest girl and her only child, and she died before 912H (1506).

Mems, 181, 182
Habībū s-siyār, 827 et seq

XLIII Daulat bakht āghācha

(?) The lady of happy horoscope (*bakht*)

She may be the mother of Kāmrān's daughter 'Āyisha, with whom she was in flight for Qandahār (Cf. 'Ayisha.)

Gul badan, 78b

XLIV Daulat-bakht Bibī (No 85)

She was clearly an active and working member of Humāyūn's household. She appeared to him in a dream (71a), and her name formed a part of Bal hūn-nisā's. She went on before the main body of begams when they visited the waterfall at Tarza, and saw to the commissariat. She is named as being at Hindūl's marriage feast.

She may be the Daulat bakht *akhada* of the preceding notice.

Gulbadin 207, 71, 74a

LXV Daulat Litta (?) Indian

Hawa I am only a Turk word meaning noble
I w. h. With it the name would be a mongrel
of Arabic and Turkish. I hope Daulat will might
be right.

She was a servant in Mirza Muhammad Muqim
bullock's house and was an intermediary in effect-
ing the elopement of her master's daughter Mah-
chukhah *bullock*, from Kabul. Mr Erskine tells the
story admirably.

P.A.H., I, 48 et seq. and the source there referred to

LXVI Daulat m. or Khanam Chaghatai Mughal

Ge. H. wife of H. the very name of felicity
Ar. *zidat* a title of a name

Daughter of Ismail, his Khan *Chaghatai* wife of
Muhammad Haidar Mirza *Dughlat*

Tar. Bul. I, 31, 58

LXVII Daulat sultān Khanam Chaghatai Mughal

Ar. *zidat* fortune and *sultān* sway. In many
proper names *sultān* does not appear to be a title,
but rather to indicate the sway or dominion of the
quality imputed by the first word of the name
e.g. *Itilif sultān* *Daulat sultān*. In giving these
names one might suppose the prophetic notion to be
that the first child should be a resonant delight and
the second a prevailing felicity.

Youngest child of Yūnus Khan *Chaghatai* and Shah
Begam *Badal khan* half sister of Babar's mother, wife
by chance of battle, of Timur Sultan *Uzbeg* mother
by him of a daughter.

In 907H (1501-2) she was in Tashkand, and Qut-linq-
mār Khanam went to visit her after thirteen or four-
teen years of separation. Babar dejected and an exile,
joined the family party in the next year. In 909H
(1503) Shaibam sacked Tashkand and forcibly married

Daulat-sultān to his son Timūr She bore him a daughter, and she remained in his *harem* until Bābar took possession of Samarcand in 917H (1511), and she joined him She went south with him in 1518, and remained several years in Badakhshān with another nephew, Mīrzā (Wais) Khān who behaved to her like a son

Another nephew, Sa'īd, her own brother Ahmad's son, then invited her, with costly gifts, to visit him in Kāshghar She made the long and difficult journey, joined him in Yarkand, and with him she spent the rest of her life

Bābar mentions that her foster-brother brought him news and letters from her in 925H (September 8th, 1519) In the same year Mansūr, Sa'īd's eldest brother, went to Kāshghai to visit her, his 'beloved aunt'

The Persian text of the *Tārikh-i-ashidī* says that Mansūr went so that by looking at her kind face his grief for the loss of his father might be mitigated The Bible Society's Turkī version reads 'Being prompted thereto by the extreme warmth of his affection for her' Both statements illumine her character The second seems the more appropriate, since the death of Sultān Ahmad Khān took place in 909H (1503) and Manṣur's visit in 926H (1520)

There is no mention of her remarriage, and her story is that of an affectionate and leisured aunt

Mems., 14, 99, 105, 274

Tār Rāsh, E & R, 108, 117, 156, 160, 851, 852, 856

XLVIII Daulat-sultān (?) Sahāj Begam

Sahāj I cannot explain B M Add 24,090 (44b) has no points, and the word may be S k n gh B M, Or 187 (48a) has k m-n j or b k n j The Turkī (Bible Society's MS translations) has Daulat

Daughter of Amīr Shaikh Nūru-d-dīn Qibchāq Mughal, governor of Turkistān, wife of Wais Khān Chaghataī Mughal

Tār Rāsh, E & R, 64 and 64 n

(XLIX Dil-dār Begam (No 48)

The Heart holding Princess, Pers. *dil*, heart, and *dār*, holding

Neither her husband, Bābar nor her daughter, Gulbadan gives any clue to her parentage. Her marriage is not spoken of in the Memoirs, it, as well as Gulrukhs, probably occurred in the missing decade of 1509-19. If Bābai held the view that four wives were a lawful number, Dil-dār, of whatever parentage, may be counted amongst them, since in 1509 Māham only remained of his earlier wives, 'Āyisha, Zainab, and Ma'sūma having disappeared from the household by death or divorce.

Dil-dār is mentioned once in the Turkī text of Kehr and Ilminsky, and then as *āghācha*. I am too ignorant of the import of this word in the domestic circle to venture to draw from its use an inference as to social status. It, however, as used by Bābar and by Gulbadan, supports Pavet de Courteille's definition of a 'lady' in contradistinction to a 'begam,' and does not convey reproach to the woman as its occasional English rendering (concubine) does.

The *Akbar-nāma* (*Bib. Ind.* ed., II 62) makes use of the words 'Dil-dār *āghācha* Begam,' and adds *āghā* as a variant (*cf. App., s n āghā*). Gulbadan always styles her mother begam, and sometimes *haziat*. In enumerating her father's children and their mothers, she does not mention the parentage of any wife besides Ma'sūma *Mīrān-shāhī*, a Timurid, but no deduction as to the lower birth of the others can be drawn safely from this, and there is some ground for supposing that Dil-dār was of *Mīrān-shāhī* birth. (*Cf. infra*, p 277.)

Perhaps some indication of non-royal birth is given by Māham's forcible adoption of Dil-dār's son in 1519, but I am too ignorant of the *nuances* of Muhammadan etiquette to venture on assertion or even on opinion in such a matter. That Māham did not take Gul-

rukh's¹ son tells nothing, since the chief factors in the adoption, i.e., Māham's loss of her own children and wish to adopt, may have become operative only when they were put into practice in 1519.

Five children of Dil-dār are mentioned by Gulbadan Gul-rang, born between 1511 and 1515, Gul-chihra, Abū-n-nāṣir Muhammad (Hindāl), born 1519, Gul-badan, born 1523, and Alwar, who died in India in 1529.

She is very frequently written of by her daughter, some other authors give of her a clear and pleasant impression, and she is always spoken of with respect and as a good and sensible woman.

Gul badan, 6b, 16a, 23a, 25b, 29b, 30a, 35a, 35b, 38a, 42a, 50b, 51b, 65a, 70b
 Jauhar, Stewart, 80, 31
 Ilminsky, 281
Al bar nāma, Bib Ind ed., s.n.
 B & H, II 164, 220, 302.

L Dil-shād Begam

The Heart rejoicing Princess, Pers *dil*, heart, and *shād*, rejoicing

Daughter of Shāh Begam and grand-daughter of Fakhr-jahān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*. Of her paternal descent nothing is recorded.

Gul badan, 24b

LI Dūdū Bibī

Wife of Sultān Muhammad Shāh *Lohānī*, Afghān King of Bihār, mother of Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn, regent for her son in his minority from 1529

B & H, s.n.

LII Fakhr-jahān Begam *Mīrān-shāhī* (No 1)

The world's ornament Ar *fakhr*, ornament, and Pers *jahān*, world

She was a daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mirzā, a paternal aunt of Bābar, the wife of Mīr 'Alā'u-l-mulk *Termizi*, and mother of Shāh and Kichak Begams.

¹ For *erratum* in my Introduction as to Gul rukh, cf App s.n.

She went to India in 1526, the first year of Bābar's occupation, with her sister Khadīja, and stayed there nearly two years. She took leave of Bābar before starting on her return journey to Kābul on September 20th, 1528 (Muharram 5th, 935H). She was again in Āgra and at the Mystic Feast in 1531.

Gul badan, 11a, 24b

Mems, 374, 382

P de Courteille, II 458 (This is a fragment, supplied by Kehr and Ilminsky, which has the appearance of memo randa and which concerns a period already and variously written of in the *Bābar nāma* of Kehr and contained in the Memoirs of Mr Erskine)

Aīn i akbarī, Blochmann, 322

LIII Fakhru n-nisā'

The ornament of womanhood, Ar *fakhr*, orna ment, and *nisā'*, woman

She was a daughter of Bābar and 'Āyisha-sultān, and his first child, born when he was nineteen. She died when about a month old.

Mems, 90

Gul badan, 6b

LIV Fakhru-n-nisā' anaga and māmā

Mother of Nadīm *kūha*, mother-in-law of his wife, Māham *anaga*

She and Nadīm are several times mentioned by Gulbadan

Gul badan, 26a, 46a, 71a, 78b

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1899, art

Māham *anaga* H Beveridge

Akbar nāma, Bib Ind ed., s n Nadīm

LV Fakhru-n-nisā' Begam Mīrān-shāhī (No 61)

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak, sister of Muhammad Hakīm, wife (1) of Shāh Abū'l-ma'ālī and (2) of Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandī (Cf Bakhtun-n-nisā')

Akbar nāma, Bib Ind ed., s n

Aīn i akbarī, Blochmann, s n

Badāyunī, Lowe, 72

LVI Fātīma Sultān āqha

Ar *Fātīma*, a name given presumably in honour of the Prophet's daughter. The meaning of *sultān* here is not apparent. It does not seem as, e.g., in *Daulat sultān*, safe to consider it as a part of a compound word, and to read *Fātīma sultān*. Nor from the bearer's parentage does it suit to take it as a title, implying that she is of the sultāns of her tribe.

There are points in the use of the word *sultān* which require fuller discussion than is practicable here. One *Fātīma Sultān* and her sister *Baurūm* (*Maryam*) were the children of *Husain Bāyqārā* by an Uzbeg servant of one of his royal wives. They are not given any further title, but their brothers are *mīrzās*.

Daughter of the chief of a Mughal *tumān* (10,000 men), first wife of 'Umar Shaikh *Mirān-shāhī*, mother of his second son, *Jahāngīr* who was two years the junior of *Bābar*.

Mems., 10, 14

LVII Fātīma Sultān *anaga* and Bibī (No 60)

Mother of Raushan *kūla* and of Zuhīra, wife of Khwāja Mu'azzam Bāyazid *bīyat* speaks of her as the *śīdu begī* of Humāyūn's *haram*, a title which Blochmann translates 'armed woman'.

She was at Hindāl's marriage feast, she helped to nurse Humāyūn in 1546, and was an envoy to Haram Begam for marriage negotiations, and she appears in Akbar's reign when her daughter is murdered.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1898, art
Memoirs of Bāyazid *bīyat*, H. Beveridge

Tabaqāt-i akbarī, Elliot, V 291

Akbar-nāma Bib Ind ed., s n

Gul badan, 26a

LVIII Fātīma Sultān Bāyqārā

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqārā* and of Mīnglī-bī *aghācha* Uzbeg, wife of Yādgār Muhammad Mīrzā *Shāh-rukhī* (died 875—1470 71). She was dead before 912H (May, 1506).

Mems., 182

Haibību-s styār, 327 et seq

LIX Fātīma Sultān Begam

A wife of Shīh Husain Beg *Iraqhūn*, and mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i sind*

LX Fauq Begam (No 31)

Ar *fauq*, superiority, excellency

Gul bādan, 25b

LXI Firoza Begam (No 35)

The princess of victory, Pers *fīroz*, victorious, prosperous.

Gul bādan, 25b

LXII Firoza Begam *Mirān shahī*

She was a grand daughter of Timūr, and married Mansur Mirza *Bayqra*. Their son Husain was therefore a double Timurid, fourth in descent through Mansur and third through Firoza

Mems, 176

LXIII Gauhar-shād Begam and *āqha*, *Tūlomān*

The jewel of joy, Pers *gauhar*, jewel, and *shād*, joy, delight

Wife of Shah-rukh, son of Timūr, sister of Qarā Yūsuf *Tūlomān*, founder of the Masjid which bears her name in Mashhad, and, with her husband, of the Bāgh-i zaghān (Ravens' Garden) at Harat. Bābar saw her tomb (dated 861H, 1457) and her mosque in 1506

Mems, 207

Northern Afghānistān, C L Late, s n
Tārī Rash, L & R, 83 n

LXIV Gauhar-shād Begam *Dughlat*

Daughter of Muhammad *Dughlat Hisarī*, wife of Amīr Yūr (*sic*), son of Amīr Jan-wāṣfā, who was *dāraqha* of Samārqand under Shaibānī in 906H (1500) when Bābar took the city, and who was an

intimate of Muhammad *Hışārī*, and saved his life by a warning word, as a reward for which Gauhar-shād was given in marriage to his son

Mems, 86, 88, 289
Tār Rāsh, E & R, 193

LXV Gauhai-shād Begam *Muān-shāhī* (No 5)

Daughter of Sultān Abū sa'īd Mīrzā and paternal aunt of Bābāi. She was at the Mystic Feast

Mems, 887
Gul-badan, 11a, 24b

LXVI Gul-badan Begam *Muān-shāhī* (No 46)

Cf Biographical Introduction and her own *Humāyūn-nāma*

LXVII Gul-barg Begam *Barlas* (No 49)

The rose-leaf princess, Pers *barg*, leaf

Daughter of Nīzāmu-d-dīn 'Alī *Barlas*, Bābar's *Khalifa*, niece, therefore, of Sultān Junaid *Barlas*, a brother-in-law of Bābar (*Cf* *Shahr-bānū*) She may be the child of that Sultānam who received Gul-badan at Kūl-jalāli (14a) She married, first, Mīr Shāh Husain *Aighūn*, in 980H (1524) The alliance was not happy and a separation took place She appears to have remarried Humāyūn at some time before the defeat at Chausa (1539) She was with him subsequently in Sind, and from there went with Sultānam to Makka previous to 1543

She was buried in Dihlī Mīr Ma'sūm writes of her death 'She entrusted her soul to the guardians of the hour of death, and the leaves (*gul-barg*) of the rose-bush of her life were dispersed by the boisterous wind of mortality'

Gul badan, 21a, 25b, 29b, 30b, 49b
Tūrīkh-i-sind, Mīr Ma'sūm
 B & H, I 885

LXXI Gul-'izār Begam Mīnān-shāhī

The rosy cheeked princess, Pers *gul*, rose, and
'izār, cheek, face

Daughter of Bābar and Gul-rukh, full-sister of
Kāmrān and 'Askarī

Gul-badan names no marriage for her, but she
may have been the wife of Yādgār-nāsīr

Gul badan, 6b
Mems, 10

LXXII Gul-'izār Begam Mīnān-shāhī

Daughter of Kāmrān Mīrzā, she accompanied Gul-
badan Begam to Makka (983H, October, 1575) (Cf
App s n 'Āyisha Mīnān-shāhī)

Akbar nāma, Bib Ind ed., III 145

LXXIII Gul-nār āghācha (No 57)

The red, red rose, Pers *gul*, rose, and *nār* (*anār*),
pomegranate, carnation red

She was of Bābar's *haram*, and may have been one
of the two Circassian (Cherkis) slaves (the other being
Nār-gul) who were presented to the Emperor by Shāh
Tahmāsp in 938H (1526)

She was at Hindāl's wedding-feast, and shared in
the conferences of Humāyūn and his family, and she
was one of Gul-badan Begam's pilgrim band (983H,
1575)

Gul badan, 25b, 30a, 85a, 88a

Mems, 847

Akbar nāma, Bib Ind ed., III. 145

LXXIV Gul-rang Begam Mīnān-shāhī (No 44)

The rose hued princess

Daughter of Bābar and Dil-dār and her mother's
first child She was born in Khost, probably between
1511 and 1515, during Bābar's exile from Kābul after
the Mughal rebellion She was given in marriage to
Isān-timūr Chaghatai Mughal, her father's first cousin,
during the last days of her father's life and in 1530

Isān-tumūn is last mentioned in 1518, and of Gul rang there is no certain record after c. 1534, when she was at Guhlār (23a) (Cf App. *s n* Salima)

Gul bīdān, 6b, 16b, 18b, 23a, 25b, 29b

LXXV Gul rukh Begam (?) Begchik Mughal

The rose checked princess

Wife of Babar, mother of Kūmrūn, 'Askari, Shah rukh, Ahmad, and Gul-i-zar. Outside Kabul there was in 1515 the tomb of Gul-rukh Begam (61b). This may well have been hers.

She is perhaps a *Begchik*. This may be judged from the following notes:

(1) Humayun married a daughter of Sultan 'Ali Mirza *taghut*¹ (Mems., 388)

(2) Humayun married a daughter of Yudgur *taghat* (Mems., 388)

Amongst contemporary *Begchik* amirs are Sultan Ali Mirza and Yudgir Mirza.

If one follows the recorded incidents of Sultan Ali's life, one sees that Gul rukh may be his sister.

(a) In 914H (1508-9) he is ordered to drown Khalil Khan (*Tar. Rash.*, 183); having done so, he took refuge with Babar in Samarqand (*Ic.*, 265);

(b) In 917H (1511), he was with Babar in Samarqand

Khān who had reinforced Andijān under Bābar's orders, to Kāzān

(c) In 920H (1514) he accompanied Sa'īd in his conquest of Kāshghār, and at this date is named amongst the Begchik amīrs of the Kāshghar army (*l c*, 308, 326)

(d) In 925H (1519) he waited on Bābar, and is styled *taghāī* of Kāmrān (Mems, 274) Bābar says here 'Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, the maternal uncle of Kāmrān (Ilminsky, 311, *Kāmīan-nīnak taghāī*), who in the year in which I passed over from Khost to Kābul had proceeded to Kāshghar, as has been mentioned,¹ waited on me here'

Bābar must several times have passed from Khost (Andar-āb) to Kābul The *Tārīkh-i-ashīdī* fixes the occasion here alluded to as in 920H (1514) This was Bābar's latest and last crossing of the northern passes to Kabul

By thus bringing the statements of the Memons and the *Tārīkh-i-ashīdī* together, Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā Begchik is fairly-well identified with Sultān 'Alī Mīrzā, *taghāī* of Kāmrān'

(e) In 935H (1528) Kāmrān married his daughter (Mems, 888)

Mems, 274, 888

Tārīkha, 188, 248, 264, 265, 280, 308, 826

LXXVI Gul-iukh Begam *Mūān-shahī*

Daughter of Kāmrān Mīrzā, wife of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqā*, mother of Muzaffar Husain who married Sultān Khānam, Akbar's eldest daughter, and of Nūru-n-nisā' who became a wife of Salīm (the Emperor Jahāngīr)

¹ Something interesting as to the *Tūzūk-i-bābarī* (Turkī text of the Memoirs) may lie here The period of Sa'īd's Kāshghar conquest falls in a gap of the *Tūzūk* Bābar referred to an incident of that time as having been already mentioned This suggests, as a cause of the gap, lost leaves, and not an omission of record (*Cf Tārīkha*, 247 n.)

She was taken captive as a child by Shaibānī *Uzbeg*, and she lived in his household until he gave her in marriage to his nephew, 'Ubaidu-l-lāh. Shortly before Shaibānī murdered her father (914H, 1508-9), 'Ubaidu-l-lāh asked for Haidar (*ætæt* 11) to come to him and Habiba in Bukhārā, and thus saved him from a general massacre of Mughal sultāns.

When 'Ubaidu-l-lāh retreated to Turkistān (*cii* 1511), Habiba remained in Bukhārā. She then joined her uncle Sayyid Muhammad *Dughlāt*, in Samargand, and with him went to Andijān where he married her to her cousin Sa'īd. She reared one of Sa'īd's children, Rashīd whose mother was a 'tribeswoman,' Makhdūm *Qāluchi*, but he certainly did her training no credit. She was widowed in 939H (July 9th, 1533), so that Gul-badan may be wrong in saying that she was at the Mystic Feast in 1531. She may have been a wedding guest in 1537.

Tür Rashi, E & R, 140, 192, 193, 206, 268, 451, 453
Gul-badan, 24b

LXXXI *Hājī Begam Min-an-shāhī*

She was a daughter of Kāmīān, and accompanied Gul-badan Begam to Makka in 983H, but it is to be inferred that this was not the pilgrimage which gave her her title of *Hājī*, since she is so entered before the *haj* of 983H. (*Cf* XIX., 'Āyisha-sultān.)

(*Hājī Begam*, Bega, *q.v.*)

(*Hājī Begam*, Māh-chūchak *Aīghūn*, *q.v.*)

LXXXII Hamida-bānū.

Ar *hamīda*, praised, laudable, and Pers. *bānū*

Daughter of Sayyid Muhammad Qāsim. She died 984H (1576-77), and was buried at Andakhui.

The above information is given by Captain Yate,

indefinite *khal*, maternal uncle, to describe the relation of Akbar and Mu'azzam

(5) *The Ma'āsiru l-umaiḍ* confirms the identification by use of the words *barādar-i-a'yānī*, full-brother. Its authority may not be of the best, but the choice of these words has some weight.

(6) 'Alī-akbar was of the lineage of Ahmad *Jāmī*. Humāyun had a dream which allowed him to know that the son prophesied in it by Ahmad would be of the latter's lineage. There is, I think, nothing said on this point of Mīr Bābā Dost, but saintly descent was claimed for Hamīda's father.

(7) Gul-badan gives one the impression (it is little more) that Mu'azzam was younger than Hamīda. He calls his sister *Mah-chīchām*, which may be read as 'Moon of my mother,' but also as 'Elder Moon-sister' (*Cf* 18b n). If he were Hamīda's junior, and as Mīr Bābā Dost was alive in 1540-41, he could not have been an independent agent in 1543-44.

In opposition to the identification, there are two considerations:

(1) A minor matter, two names are given by the sources Mīr Bābā Dost and 'Alī-akbar.

(ii) The important fact that Abū'l-fazl calls Mu'azzam Hamīda's *ukhuwwat-i-akhyaṭī*,¹ which, according to Lane, must be rendered 'uterine brother.'

Was, then, the name Bābā Dost a sobriquet of Shaikh 'Alī-akbar?

Were Hamīda and Mu'azzam full brother and sister? Were they the children of one father and two mothers, or were they uterine brother and sister?

Shaikh 'Alī-akbar's name I have not found in any

¹ Steingass does not recognise the force of 'uterine,' since he renders *barādar-i-a'yānī* by 'uterine brother.'

passage except the one dealing with Hamida's parentage. Mir Bibi Dost may be the man so named by Babur (Memo., 262), and who was then with Humāyūn in the year of the birth of Hindal (1519). He may also have gone with Humāyūn, Hamida (or his own daughter) and Mu'tazz (or his son) to Persia, the *Li-luk*, in the little party of exiles. He is mentioned by Abū'l-faḍl not only where already noted, but, we believe also amongst Hindal's servants who were transferred to Akbar in 1551 (958H).

Two men with the name Al-akbar are mentioned under Akbar, but neither appears to be a *Jāmī*, or to warrant identification with Hamida's reputed father (cf. *Tarz-i-Sallūz*, Blochmann, *r.n.* Al-akbar).

Whether there was any relationship more close than that derived from common descent from Ahmad *Jāmī* between Mihām Begam and Hamida I am not able to say.

Hamida was related to Binni (Bibbi) *dāghā* who was the wife of Shihabuddin Ahmad *Nishāpūrī* and a relation of Mihām *anāmā* Begā (*Hanī*) Begam also had claim to descent from Ahmad *Jāmī*, so that the joint posterity was numerous in Akbar's court, and included the Emperor himself.

To Gulbadan's account of the discussion which preceded Hamida's marriage, there may be added the following passage from the *Taqṣīratul-Uṣūqat* of Janbar (IO MS No. 221 and BM MS Add No. 16,711, f. 82). After Humāyūn has asked whose daughter Hamida is, he is told, perhaps by Dil dai, that she is of the line of his Reverence the Terrible Elephant, Ahmad *Jāmī*, and that her father, by way of blessing and benediction, has taught Mirza Hindal, and that for this reason Hamida is with the mirza's household.

The Persian (taken from the IO MS) is as follows: *Pūdar i shāh do suh lalma ba jihat i-tabaruk*

*ua tayammun ba Mīzā Hindāl sabq far mudand A.
an jihat ba mā hamīda and*

Eiskine (II 220) and Stewart (Jauhar, 31 n.) both say that Hamida was married at fourteen years of age. The incidents of her wedded life are set down in Gul-badan Begam's book and in the *Akbār-nāma* and other sources, but having regard to her interesting personality, they may be enumerated here also.

She was married at Pāt early in 948H (summer, 1541), and remained in Sind until she made with Humāyūn the terrible desert journey to 'Umrkut where Akbar was born (October 15th, 1542). About the beginning of the following December she and her baby went into camp at Jūn, after travelling for ten or twelve days. In 1543 she made the perilous journey from Sind which had Qandahār for its goal, but in course of which Humāyūn had to take hasty flight from Shāl-mastān, 'through a desert and waterless waste'. She went with him, leaving her ~~husband~~ ^{husband} son behind. She accompanied her husband to Persia,

and it is recorded that he passed through Sistān, its governor brought his mother and his wives to entertain her. With Humayun she made, amongst other pious visitations, one to Jam where was their ancestor Ahmad's shrine. She was kindly treated by Shāh Tahmasp and by his sister, and Gul badan's details of the Persian episode can hardly have been learned from anyone but Hamida. In 1544, in camp at Sabzawār, a daughter was born. She returned from Persia with the army given to Humāyūn by Tahmāsp, and at Qandahār would meet Dil dār and Hindāl, her former protectors.

It was not until November 15th, 1545 (Ramazan 10th, 952H) that she again saw her son, who recognised her. She had shortly after this to accept Māh-chūchak as a co-wife. In June, 1548, she and Akbar accompanied Humāyūn on his way to Tāliqān as far as Gul-bihār, and thence returned to Kābul. This may

be the expedition made by the ladies and chronicled by Gul badan, to see the *rūqā*. When Humāyūn, in November, 1551, set out for Hindūstān, she remained in Kibul.

Bīvarīd *bawāt* mentions that at this time he fell under her displeasure, and was reprobated because he had not cleared out a house for one of her servants. He pleaded the commands of Mu'īm Khān, and was forgiven. Early in the reign of Akbar, Khwaja Mīrak, Nizāmu d-dīn's grandfather and who was her *dūwān*, was hanged by Mu'īm Khan because he had sided with Mirzā Sulaimān.

She rejoined her son in the second year of his reign (964H., 1557), together with Gul badan and other royal ladies. She is mentioned as in Dihli in the fifth year, and she had a part in the plot for deposing Bairam Khan. She was closely associated with Gulbadan in Akbar's court and affection, together they interceded for Salim with his father, together they received gifts from the Emperor, and their tents were side by side in his encampments. Hamida was with Gulbadan in the latter's last hours.

Abu'l fa'l says that when long fasts came to an end, the first dishes of dressed meat used to go to Akbar from his mother's house.

Hamida died in the autumn of 1601 (19th Shahrīyār 1013H.), sixty three years after her wedding, and after almost fifty years of widowhood, passed as the proud mother of a great son. If she was fourteen in 1511, she must have been born in 1527 (*cina*), the year of Babar's victory at Khanwa, and have been some seventy seven years old at the time of death.

Gul badan, 10a, 12a, 41b, 18a, 55a, 55b, 58a, 59b, 62b, 66a, 71a, 78b, 81a

Albar nama, Bib Ind ed., s.n.

Aīn-i albarī Aīn, 26, *Sufiyāna*, Blochmann, 61, 62

Tauhar, 1 c, Nizāmu d-dīn Ahmad, etc.

Masiru l umarā Bib Ind ed., I 618

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1898, art. Bāyazīd bīyāt, II Beveridge, 16

LXXXIV Haram Begam *Qibchāq Mughal*

Princess of the *Haram*. Her name has been transliterated by some European workers as *Khurram*, 'blossoming, cheerful,' and this seems the more probable name to bestow on a child. But some of the Persian texts support *Haram*, and the editors of the *Bib Ind Akbar-nāma* have adopted it. *Gul badan* has *Haram*.

Haram Begam may be a sobriquet bestowed after the revelation of the facts of the bearer's character and dominance.

Daughter of Sultān Wais *Kulabī Qibchāq Mughal*, and sister of Chaki 'Alī and Haider Begs and of Māh Begam, a wife of Kāmrān. She married Sulaimān Mīrzā *Mirān-shahī*, son of Khān Mīrzā (Wais). She had one son, Ibhāhīm (Abū'l-qāsim), and several daughters. Her children, through Shāh Begam *Badakhshī*, their paternal ancestress, claimed descent from Alexander the Great.

Most of the incidents of her career are given in the Introduction to this book, and her remarkable character is exhibited there. *Badayunī* calls her *Wali-ni'amat*, and says she was known by this name. This may be a tribute to her pre-eminence in character and action and also to the fact of her belonging to an older generation than Akbar's, under whom he wrote 'The elder men of royal birth were Lords and the elder women Ladies of Beneficence in those days.'

Gul badan, 65a, 75b

Akbar nāma, *Bib Ind* ed., s n

Badayunī, Lowe, 61, 89, 90, 217

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1898, art. *Bāyazid bīyāt*, H. Beveridge, 12, 16

B & H., s n

Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, s n

Introduction, *supra*

LXXXV Hazāra Begam

Princess of the tribe of the Hazāra. This is a title, and not a personal name.

She was the daughter of a brother of Khīr Khān *Hazāra* who was the chief of his tribe during the

struggles for supremacy of Humayun and Kâmrân
She married Kâmrân

G. H. Bell C.P.

LXXXVI Husnîm or Khânum Chaghatai Mughal

The name is derived from Ar. *Jan*, beauty, and Pers.
râjînî

Daughter of Isan bughra Chaghatai and niece of
Yunas Khan sister of Dost Muhammad and wife of
Abdullah Daulat Mughal

T. & T. 1, VI, 81-91

LXXXVII Isan daulat Khanum and Pezam Quchin Mughal.

Her name is given as *Isem* in the *Bâlatîma*,
P. 121, A.D. M. Or. Add. 20 (20) has a clearly
written *Isem*. Bâlatîma has *Isan jânum*. An
early Persian MS. (A.M. Or. 714) has *Isan* and
Isen.

In *Mâlik-i-hâj* *Isen* in all but two instances
(q. 12) where it is used. But Mr. Leskine's
Isan jânum (P.M. Add. 20, 200) which is presum-
ably his authority can (I venture to think after
comparing the word he renders it) with those he
renders *Isen* yield *Isen* in all places. Where he
renders *Isen* (pp. 10 and 111) the *men* is not dotted
the letters clearly correspond with those where it is
dotted, and when he reads *Isen*

The *Târikh-i-târikh* (B.M. Or. 157) writes *Isan*
The weight of authority is in favour of *Isen*.

Isan daulat was Babur's maternal grandmother and
a daughter of Mir Shir'ah Beg Quchin (Kunji) chief
of the Sighinchi *tumân* (10,000) of the Quchin
Mughals.

She married Yunas Khan Chaghatai Mughal when
he was forty one years old. He was born in 818H
(1455-6) so that the date of her marriage is, approxi-
mately, 1456. At this time Yunas was made Great
Khân of the Mughals.

Isan daulat bore three daughters, who were named
Mihr-nigâr, Qâtâb-nigâr, and Khub-nigâr. She had
many brothers, of whom three, Shiram, Mazid, and

'Alī-dost, took leading parts in Bābar's affairs. Her chief co-wife was Shāh Begam *Badakhshī*

She shared the vicissitudes of her remarkable husband's remarkable career for some thirty years, nursed him through two years of paralytic helplessness till his death in 892H (1487) at the age of seventy-four, and survived him about eighteen years.

Four times at least she fell into the hands of an enemy:

(1) In Kāshghār, c. 860H (1455-56), when Mihmān-nigār was an infant at the breast and when she was returned in safety to her husband.

(2) In Tāshkand in 877H (1472-73), when Yūnas had gone to buy barley at a time of dearth in Mughal-istān. It was then that there occurred the well-known episode which shows Isān-daulat's high spirit and decision of character and which is briefly narrated in the Introduction (p. 68). She was returned with honour to her husband.

(3) In Andijān in 903H (1497-98), when the town was taken from her grandson Bābar by his kinsfolk. She was sent after him in safety to Khojand, and from there went on to the protection of her third daughter's home in Kāshghar.

(4) At Samāqand in 906H (1500-1), when the town was taken by Shaibānī. She remained behind when Bābar left the place, and rejoined him in a few months with his 'family, heavy baggage, and a few lean and hungry followers'.

In the eighth year of her widowhood (900H) she was guiding Bābar's affairs with decision and sense in Andijān. He says that few women equalled her for sagacity, far-sight and good judgment, and that many important affairs were carried out by her counsel.

News of her death reached Bābar in Kābul early in 911H (June, 1505), during the forty days' mourning for his mother.

Two slight records of her remain for mention

XCI Khadija Begam

Presumably she was named after Muhammad's first wife

She was first a slave¹ of Sultān Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā, and upon his death in 873H (1469) she betook herself to Harāt and there became the wife of Sultān Husain Bāyqra

She had a daughter, known as Āq Begam, by Abū-sa'īd, and two sons, Shāh Gharib and Muzaffar Husain, by her marriage with Husain

Hers is an instance where the conferring of a title is mentioned. Bābar says that Husain was passionately fond of her and that he raised her to the rank of begam, also that she managed him entirely. To her are attributed the intrigues and rebellion which ruined Husain's family. She acquired more influence than any other of his wives, and it was consequently round her surviving son Muzaffar Husain, that adherents gathered after his father's death. She forced on the joint-kingship which excited Bābar's ridicule. Mīrzā Haidar when speaking of the death of Jahāngīr Mīrān shāhī, said that he was generally reported to have been poisoned in his wine by Khadija Begam after her old fashion.

In 912H (1506-7) Bābar saw her in Harāt, and he was there unlawfully entertained by her at a wine-party. When Shaibānī conquered the city in 913H she was cast down from her high estate and given up to be plundered, and was treated as one of Shaibānī's meanest slaves.

Mems., 179, 182, 188, 198, 204, 228
Tārīkha Rashī, E & R, 196, 199

¹ Turkī text (Ilminsky), *ghuncha chī*, which Redhouse translates a seller of rosebuds and a young and good looking female slave. The Persian text has the same word *ghuncha chī*. The interest of these details is the light they may cast on the use of such words as *āghā* and *āghāchā*.

Muharram 5th, 935H (September 20th, 1528), but various business detained her and Bābar paid her another of his dutiful visits on October 9th. When or if she returned to Kābul is not said, but she was at the Mystic Feast in Āgra in 1581.

Gul badan, 11a, 24b
Mems., 874, 882, 887

XCIV Khāl-dār anaga

The nurse with a mole, *khāl-dār*, mole-marked
Mother of Sa'ādat-yār hūha
Akbar nāma, *Bib Ind* ed., I. 44

XCV Khānam Begam (No 18)

Daughter of Āq Begam, grand-daughter of Abū-
sa'īd *Mīnān shāhī*. The 'Khānam' may indicate that
she is a Chaghataī chief's child

Gul badan, 24b

(Khānam, Muhtarima, q.v.)

XCVI Khānish āghā Khuārizmī

Daughter of Jūjūq Mīrzā *Khwārizmī*, wife of
Humāyūn, mother of Ibrāhīm who died as an infant.
Bāyazīd calls her child Muhammad Farrūkh fāl, but
Gul-badan and Abū'l-fazl are against him. Farrūkh-
fāl was the child of Māh-chūchak. Ibrāhīm was
born on the same day as Muhammad Hakīm, i.e.,
Jumāda I 15th, 960H (April 19th, 1553).

Gul badan, 71a, 71b, (?) 78b
Bāyazīd (I O MS 72a), *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1898, art. Bāyazīd *bīyāt*, H. Beveridge, p. 14.
Akbar nāma, *Bib Ind* ed., I 881

XCVII Khān Sultān Khānam and Sultānam Dughlat

Both these names appear to be titles, and not personal.

Daughter of Sanīz Mīrzā *Dughlat* and Jamāl āghā,
full-sister of Abā-bakr

She was a woman of life-long piety and devotion to good works. Perhaps for this reason her brother who seems to have been an incarnation of unjust cruelty, treated her with studied barbarity, as a consequence of which she died in torture and suffering.

Tar Rash, E & R, 88, 258



XCVIII Khān-zāda Begam Bāyqra (No 16)

The khān born princess, Turki *khān*, and Pers *zāda*, born

Gul-badan says she is a daughter of Sultān Masūd Mirzā *Mirzā-shāhī*, and through a daughter grandchild of Piyanda Muhammad (*sic*) Sultān Begam, paternal great-aunt of Humāyūn Bābar names no such marriage of a daughter of Piyanda. 'The second of the daughters [of Piyanda] was Kichak Begam [whose name is probably a sobriquet] Sultān Masūd Mirzā was extremely attached to her, but whatever efforts he made, Piyanda-sultān Begam, having an aversion to him, would not consent to the match. She was afterwards' (Turki *sūnqarā*, P de C *dans la suite*) 'married to Mullā Khwāja.'

A daughter of Husain Bāyqra and of Bābā *āghācha*, whose name was Sa'īdat-bakht and title Begam Sultān, was married to Masūd after his blinding. Her daughter might be fitly described as of inferior rank to the great begams. Such a description is given by Bābar of 'Khān-zāda, daughter of Sultān Masūd Mirzā'. Husain and Piyanda's daughter would certainly rank as equal in birth to the daughters of Abū-sa'īd, since she was a full Timūrid.

The 'extreme attachment' of Masūd to Kichak fits Musalmān marriage better than Musalmān courtship. It may be that, spite of Piyanda's opposition, Masūd married Kichak. The 'afterwards' of the Memoirs (*supra*) and the *de la suite* of Pavet de Courteille seem to demand some more definite antecedent than

Mas'ūd's attachment Moreover, this presumably persisted with his wish to marry Kīchak

Did he marry Kīchak, and was she divorced after his blinding or at some other time, and then was Sa'ādat-bakht given to him?

Mems., 181, 182, 387
Gul badan, 24b

(C) XCIX Khān-zāda Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā *Mīrān-shāhī* and of Qūt-līq-nīgār Khānam, full-sister of Bābar and five years his senior Eldest of her father's daughters She is recorded as thrice married first, to Shaibānī in 1501 (907H), secondly, to a man of inferior rank, Sayyid Hada, and, thirdly, to Mahdī Muhammad Khwāja,¹ son of Mūsa Khwāja One child of hers is recorded, Shaibānī's son, Khurram-shāh Sultān

She was born *circa* 1478 (883H) This is known from the statement of her brother that she was five years his senior In 1501 (907H) she was married by Shaibānī when he captured Samarqand from Bābar Gul-badan makes the marriage a condition of Shaibānī's peace with Bābai, Haidar says she was given in exchange for Bābai's life, and Khāfī Khān, as a ransom (*ba tarīq-i-fāida*) She was in Shaibānī's power and could have been married without consent of Bābai As in 1501 she was twenty-three years old, she had almost certainly been married before, possibly to Mahdī Her marriage arrangements with Shaibānī might include the divorce which the Musalmān law requires Bābar does not go into details as to the marriage, he says she fell into Shaibānī's hands Presumably as himself of Timūrid birth, Shaibānī would treat a Timūrid woman with respectful forms even when she was spoil of battle To marry Khān-zāda, he divorced her maternal aunt, Mīhr-nīgār Chaghataī

¹ Cf Appendix B, Mahdī Khwāja

Khān-zāda's son by Shāibānī, Khurram-shāh, died a young man. Shāibānī divorced her because she leaned to her brother's side in disputed matters. He then gave her in marriage to a certain Sayyid Hāda, who fell in the battle of Merv with Shāibānī himself (1510).

In 1511 and at the age of thirty-three, she was returned to Bābar by Shāh Ismā'il. At what date she married Mahdī Muhammad Khwāja I am not able to say. It is probable that the marriage would take place within no long time after her return. As Mahdī is never described by Bībar in any way (as is his custom when a new actor comes upon the scene of his Memoirs), it is probable that Mahdī's joining Bābar and his marriage with Khān-zāda took place in the decade 1509-19, of which no record is known to survive.¹ Mahdī was with Bībar in 1519 (925H), and is frequently mentioned subsequently.

There are many references to Khān zāda by Gulbadan who frequently calls her Dearest Lady (*akājanām*). She died at Qabul chak in 1545 (952H), aged about sixty-seven years, and after a life full of sorrows and chagrins.

Gul badan, 3b, 15b, 18b, 23b, 24b, 27b, 28b, 50b, 62b, 68a
Mems., 10, 98, 241 (Supplement)

Tar Rash, E & R, 117, 155, 175, 196, 239, 400

Habību-s siyār, under date 929H

Khāfi Khūn, I 83 (here Khāna zāda)

C Khān-zāda Begam *Mīrān-shāhī*

Daughter of Sultān Mahmūd *Mīrān-shāhī* and Khān-zāda *Termīzī* II, wife (1) of Abā-bakī *Dughlāt*, and mother by him of (?) Jahāngīr, Turāngū, and Bustāngīr, (2) of Sayyid Muhammad *Dughlat* who married

¹ There are some indications that a record of this decade once existed

her in conformity with the custom of *yanga-lih*
(*Cf. Jamāl aghā*)

Mems, 30
Tarīk, L & R, 330

C I Khān zāda Begam *Termizī*

Of the family of the Khāns of Termiz, wife of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī. She was a bride when Bābar was five, i.e., in 893H (1488) but, according to Turkī custom, was still veiled. Sultān Ahmad desired Bābar to pluck off the veil and run away, a little ceremony which it was supposed would bring him good luck when his time for marriage should come.

Mems, 28

C II Khān zāda Begam *Termizi* (a)

Daughter of the chief (*mī-n-i-buzurg*) of Termiz, wife of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā Mūān-shāhī, mother of Sultān Mas'ūd Mīrzā. She died apparently early in her married life. The mīrzā was greatly afflicted at her death.

Mems, 29, 80

C III Khān-zāda Begam *Termizī* (b)

Daughter of a brother of Khānzāda *Termizī* (a), grand-daughter of the chief of Termiz, wife of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā Mūān-shāhī, mother of Husain (who died, aged thirteen, before his father) and of five girls, Khānzāda, Bega, Āq, Āī, and Zainab.

Mems, 29, 80, 88, 128

C IV Khān-zāda Khānam

'Epouse légitime' of Mu'affai Mīrzā *Bāyqāā*, and illegally taken by Shāibānī

Mems, 224
Pavet de Courteille, II, 10

CV Khūb-nigār Khānam Chaghataī Mughal

The image of beauty Here khānam has its full value, since Khūb nigār was daughter of the Khāqān, the Khān emphatically

Third daughter of Yūnas Khān Chaghataī and Isāndaulat Qūchīn, wife of Muhammad Husain Dughlāt Hīsārī, mother of Haidar and Habība¹ She was a year older than her husband, and was married in 899H (1493-94) Bābar, writing in 907H (1501-2) mentions the reception of news of her death Her husband was murdered in 914H

Mems, 12, 99, 218

Tār Rāsh, E & R, 117, 118, 158, 156, 197

CVI Khurshed kālkī (Nos 55 and 64)

Pers, the sun, sunshine

Gul badan, 26a

CVII Kichak Begam Bāyqād

The small princess, Turkī, kīchah, small The name is probably a sobriquet

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqād and Pāyanda-sultān Begam Mīān-shāhī, wife of Māulānā Khwāja who was of the family of Sayyid Atā one of her father's best vazirs

Khwānd-amīr reverses her marriage with that of her sister Bega, and makes her marry Bābar, son of Rabi'a

Mems, 181

Habību s siyār, 827 et seq

CVIII Kichak Begam Tirmizī (No 23)

Daughter of Mīr 'Alā'u l-mulk Tirmizī and Fakhī-jahān Mīān-shāhī, wife of Khwāja Mu'in Ahrār, mother of Mīrzā Sharafu-d-dīn Husain

¹ The translation of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* (E & R, 159) has the statement that Khūb nigār bore six sons (*farzandān*), and that two died at the breast and four survived. I believe it should read 'six children, of whom four died at the breast, and two survived her'

She went to Hindūstān with her mother, and was at Hindāl's wedding feast

Mems, without names (*Cf* Fakhr-jahān and Shāh Begam)

Gul badan, 25a

Akbar-nāma (lith ed), s n

Aīn-i-akbarī, Blochmann, 322

CIX Kichak māham (No 80)

Cf s n Māham for meaning of the word.

She is named as at Hindāl's wedding

Gul badan, 26b

CX Kilān Khān Begam

This is clearly not a personal name Pers. *kilān*, elder, great, and Turki *khān*, a title

Daughter of Sultānam Begam *Mīrān-shāhī* and grand-daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā Which of Sultānam's three husbands was Kilān Khān Begam's father is not said, from her daughter's title, Timūr Sultān *Uzbeg* seems most probable

Mems, 22

Gul badan, 24b

CXI Lād-malik Tūlhomān

(?) Mistress of the Fort, Pers *lād*, fortress, and *Ar malik*, possessor, ruler

Wife of (1) Tāj Khān *Saiangkhānī* and (2) of Shīr Khān *Sūlī* (935H, 1528-29)

B & H, II 181, 182, and authorities there cited by Mr Erskine

CXII Lāl-shād Khānam Chaghataī Mughal

Perhaps, with a lip like the gleam of a ruby, Pers *lāl*, ruby, and *shād*, gleam, happy

Eldest daughter of Sultān Ahmad Khān *Chaghataī* and of a 'slave' (*amm-i-uald*)

'Although she was outside the circle of distinction, she was finally married to Muhammad Amū Mirzā Dughlat'

Tār Rāsh, E & R, 161

CXIII Latīfā-sultān āqhācha

Of pre eminent delicacy or gentleness, Ar *laṭīfa*, delicate, and a jest, and Ar *sultān*, sway

Chār-shambihī, a Wednesday wife, of Sultān Husain Mūzī *Bayqrā*, mother of Abū'l-hasan and of Muhammad Muhsin (*kepeh*, round-shouldered)

The *Habībū s-siyātī* says she was a relation of Jahān-shāh (? *Tukhomān* or *Barlās*) She was dead before 912H (1506)

Mems, 179, 183

CXIV Latīf Begam Duladātī Barlās

Grand-daughter of Ahmad Hājī Beg, wife (1) of Sultān Ahmad Mirzā *Mīrān-shāhī*, (2) of Hamza Sultān *Uzbeg*, and by him mother of three sons who fell into Bābar's hands at Hisār, and were released by him

Both her grandfather Ahmad and his paternal uncle, Janī Beg *Duladātī*, were amīrs of her first husband

Mems, 28

CXV Māh-afroz Begam

The princess who outshines the moon, Pers *māh*, moon, and *afroz*, dazzling, illuminating

She was a wife of Kāmrān and mother of *Hājī* Begam Two of Kāmrān's wives are not known by their personal names, Hazāra Begam and the daughter of Uncle 'Alī Mirzā *Begchuk*. Māh-afroz may be one of these.

Gul-badan, 64b

CXVI Māham anaqa

Nurse of Akbar, wife of Nadīm *kūha*, mother of Bāqī and Adham *lūkas* Cf Bābū *āqhā* Much of her story is given in the Introduction to this volume

CXVII Māham Begam *ākā* and *ākām* (lady and my lady)

The word Māham is explained by Mr Erskine (who did not know Gul badan's book) as Bābar's name of endearment for his favourite wife, and as meaning 'my moon' Mr Schuyler also translates it by the same words He says that a woman who was shot for political offences in Bukhīrā was known as 'My moon (Māham) of Keninghez'

But many Māhams are chronicled, and not only Bābar gives the name to Humāyūn's mother, Gul badan speaks frequently of 'my lady who was Māham Begam,' and Māham seems to be her personal name It is used at least once as a man's (*Akbār nāma*, I 820, Māham 'Alī Quli Khān)

Whether māham is to be classed with sultānam, khānam, begam, shāham, I am unable to say

Sir Douglas Forsyth (Mission to Yarkand, 84) translates khānam and begam by *my lord* and *my chief* But neither is a domestic word, both are in common use in the sources to designate, for general readers, the wives or daughters of khāns and begs, or princes Sultānam also is a common title, and from Gul badan's use of it does not appear to be a personal name, but to answer to sultān as khānam to khān, etc

Against reading khānam as *my lady*, with a sense of possession or admission of superiority (as is done by Sir Douglas Forsyth), there are the Turkī words formed from it, viz., *khānam alī*, honeysuckle, and *khānam būjākī*, ladybird Shāham, which has the appearance of being formed from shāh like the others by the suffix *am* or *im*, is used both for man and woman Shāram occurs as a man's name

Māham was a wife of whom it was said that she was to Bābar what 'Āyisha was to Muhammad, and she was Humāyūn's mother Gul-badan mentions her often, yet no one of the numerous sources I have consulted, sets down her family or the name of her father

At one time it appeared to me probable that she was a Begchik Mughal, because Bābar calls Yādgār Begchik, *taqhaī* when speaking of him in connection with Humāyūn Further consideration led to the abandonment of the theory

Uncle Yādgār, Uncle 'Alī, and Uncle Ibīkhīm (*Chapūl*, slashed-face) are named as being three of the eight brothers or half-brothers of Gul-rukh, the mother

of Kāmrān, and Bega (*Hajī*) Begam is the daughter of Uncle Yādgār

Amongst these eight Begchiks I do not find one named Uncle Muhammad 'Ali, and there is a good deal to lead one to regard a certain Khwāja Muhammad 'Ali *taghāl* as being Māham's brother

He was associated with Khost, and it is on record that Humāyūn visited his maternal grandparents (*nanahā*) in Khost. The Begchiks do not seem to have been connected with Khost. Bābar speaks frequently of Khwāja Muhammad 'Ali as being employed in the government of Khost (925H), as coming from Khost for orders, etc., and the *mīr-zādas* of Khost also are recorded as visiting the court. One of Māham's children was born in Khost.

Bābar frequently mentions an 'Abdu-l-malūk *Khostī*, and he may be a connection of Māham. He, however, appears as *Khostī*, *Khwastī*, *Qastī*, *qūchī*, *Qūchin*, and without a more complete good Turkī text no opinion can be formed as to his identity.

Gul-badan says that Āhā (Māham) was related to the owners of the New Year's Garden in Kābul, and this was made by Ulugh Beg *Kabuli Mūān-shāhī*.

Abū'l-fazl says Māham was of a noble Khurāsān family, related to Sultān Husain Mīrzā (*Bayqīā*), and, like Hamīda-bānū Begam, was of the line of Shaikh Ahmad Jamī (az dūdman i-a'yān wa ashīat-i-Khurāsān and, u a ba Sultān Husain Mīrzā nisbat-i-khu'esh dāi and). Perhaps *nisbat-i-khu'esh* implies blood-relationship on the father's side.

Gul-badan speaks of Māham's Mughal servants, but a Chaghataī, a Begchik, a Qūchin is also a Mughal, and Babar often sinks the divisional tribe-name in the general one, Mughal (e.g., Nems 9 and 21).

Some considerations suggest that Māham was a *Dughlūt Mughal*, and of the family of 'Abdu l-qadūs, but no valid opinion can be formed until a text as good as the Elphinstone is available for guidance.

Bābar married Māham in Harāt when he visited that city after Sultān Husain Mīrzā's death, and in 912H (1506) Humāyūn was born on March 6, 1508 (Zū'l-qa'da 4th, 913H) Four other children were born to her, and all died in infancy They were Bār-bul, Mīhr-jahān, Isān-daulat and Fātiq

The events of her career are detailed in the Introduction to this volume and in Gul-badan Begam's book

Mems , 250, 405, 412, 428, 428 n

Gul badan, 4a, 6b, 7a, 8b, 11b, 18b, 14b, 16a, 16b, 17a, 18b,
21a and b, 22a and b, 23a and b 24b

Akbar nāma, Bīb Ind ed , and H Beveridge, s n Māham
and Māham 'Alī Qulī Khān

Turkistān, Schuyler, 95 ff

CXVIII Māham Kābulī (No 81)

At Hindāl's marriage feast

Gul badan, 26a

CXIX Māham Khānam Chaghataī Muqhal

Second daughter of Sultān Ahmad Khān Chaghataī and full-sister of Mansūr Khān Their mother was Sahīb daulat Dughlat, sister of Mīr Jabār Bairdī Dughlat Māham married Buylāsh Khān Uzbeg Kazāk, son of Awīq

Haidar Mīrzā names her as a hostage given, with her mother, by her brother Mansūr to his half-brother Sa'īd at a time of their meeting in 1516 She had two other full-brothers, Bābājāk and Shāh Shāikh Muhammad

Tār Rash, N E & R , 160, 844.

CXX Māh Begam Qibchāq Muqhal

The moon princess , Pers māh, moon

Daughter of Sultān Wais Qibchāq Muqhal and sister of Haram Begam , wife of Kāmrān Mīrzā

Gul badan, 64b

CXXI Māh-chachaq Khalīfa

She is mentioned by Bāyazīd as interceding for him with Hamīda-bānū She may be a servant (*khalīfa*)

J R A S, October, 1898, art Bāyazīd bīyāt, H Beveridge
p 16

CXXII Māh-chūchak Begam Aīghūn, Hājī Begam

The word *chūchak* presents difficulties Il'munsky writes *chūchūq*, Bāyazīd *chachaq* Gul bañan, *chūchak* and *jūjal*, the Memoirs, *chuchak* Mr Blochmann and Mr Lowe transliterate, *jujah*. There is a Turkī word *jūjūq*, but its meaning of sweet savoured is less appropriate for a woman's name than a word which, spite of vowel variation it seems safer to take from the Persian, viz *chachak*, a rose, and *chachal*, *chuchūl*, a lovely check, a mole

Daughter of Mīrzā Muhammad Muqīm Aīghūn and of Bibī Zarīf Khatūn wife (1) of Bābar's *kūkhallāsh* Qāsim, (2) of Shāh Hasan Aīghūn of Sind (died 963H), (3) of 'Isā Tarkhān Iīghūn of Tatta and Sind

By Qasim, she was mother of Nāhīd Begam and by Shāh Hasan of his only child, Chūchak or Māh-chūchak, Kamian's wife

She had an interesting story which Mī Erskine tells at length (B & II, I 348 *et seq.*)

On the death of 'Isā (975H) his son and successor Muhammad Bāqī Tarkhān, who was a madman, ill-treated Māh-chūchak and Nāhīd who was then visiting her. This led to a plot against him, but in the end Māh-chūchak was imprisoned by him and starved to death (Cf s n Nāhīd)

Mems., 238

B & H, I 848 *et seq.*

Tārīkh i-sind, Mir Ma'sūm, in the account of Shāh Hasan's family

Aīn i akbarī, Blochmann, 420

Il'munsky, 273

XXIII Māh-chūchak Begam Aīghān

Daughter of Shāh Hasan and Māh-chūchak *Aīghān* and her father's only child, wife of Kāmrān, married 953H (1546) Her wifely fidelity is commemorated by the historians She went with Kāmrān to Makka after his blinding, and attended him until his death, October 5th, 1557 She survived him seven months

Tārīkh-i sind, Mīr Ma'ūm, in the account of Shāh Hasan's family

CXXIV Māh chūchak Begam

Sister of Barrām *Oqhlān* and of Farīdūn Khān *Kabulī*

She married Humāyūn in 1546 She had two sons, Muhammad Hakīm (born 960H —1553) and Farrūkh-fāl Gul-badan says she had four daughters and then, with discrepancy frequently found in her writings, names three Bakht-nīsā', Sakīna bānū, and Amīnā-bānū The name of the best-known of her girls, Fakhru-n-nīsā', is omitted

Māh-chūchak's story is told by her sister-in-law, in the Introduction of this volume, by Mr Blochmann and by several Persian writers

She was murdered by Shāh Abū'l-mā'ālī in Kābul in 1564

Gul-badan, 71a, 71b, 78b, 78b, 83a

Jauhar, Mr William Irvine's MS, Part II, Chapter II
Bāyazīd, I O MS, 72a

Nīzāmu d dīn Ahmad, 27th year of Akbar

Bādāyunī, Lowe, 54 et seq

Āīn-i akbarī, Blochmann, s n

CXXV Makhdūma āghā (No 59)

The Lady āghā, A *makhdūma*, lady, mistress
Wife of Hindū Beg

Gul badan, 26a

CXXXVI Makhdūma Begam (Qādī-qūz)

Wife of 'Umar Shirkhī Mūrān-shahī mother of Ruqaiya, a posthumous child, she was married at the end of 'Umar's days, she was tenderly beloved, and to flatter him her descent was derived from his uncle, Manūchahr Mūrān-shahī

Mems., 10, 14

CXXXVII Makhdūma-jahan

The mistress of the world Ar mākhdu'ma, mistress and Pers. *jahan*, world
Mother of Sultan Bahadur Gurjati

B & H, II, 96

CXXXVIII Makhdūma Qaluchi

A wife of Sa'id Khan Chaghatai a 'tribes woman', mother of Rashid sister of Suqit Bahadūr Qaluchi
Tar Rash F & R, 110, 187, 109

CXXXIX Makhdūma Khanam

The Lady Khanam, Ar mākhdu'ma lady, mistress
Daughter of Shir Ali Khan Chaghatai Mughal
sister of Wais Khān, wife of Amīsanji Taishi Qalmaq
mother of Qadir, Ibrāhim, and Ilyas

Her marriage was a ransom for her brother Wais of whom it was commonly reported that he was routed sixty times by the Qalmaqs On her marriage, Wais made Amīsanji become a Musalman, and Makhdūma continued the work of her husband's conversion and that of his tribe

She named one of her daughters Karīm Bārdi in affection and respect for the Dughlāt amīr of this name

Mems., 409

Tar Rash, E & R, 67, 91

CXXX Makhdūma-sultān Begam

Daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā Muān-shāhī and Zuhra Begī *aqha Uzbeg*, elder sister of Sultān Alī Mīrzā 'She is now in Badakhshān' (Mems, 30) The 'now' may be in the late twenties of 1500, and she may have been with Mīrzā Khān (Wais Mīan-shāhī)

Mems, 30

CXXXI Makhft

Hid, concealed

This is the poetical name (*takhallus*) of Salīma-sultān Begam *Chaqanīānī*, Nūr-jahān Begam, and Zibū-n-nisīn, a daughter of Aurang-zīb

CXXXII Malika-jahān

The world's queen, Ar *malika*, queen, and Pers *jahān*, world

Elliot and Dawson, V 81, 87, 88

CXXXIII Ma'sūma-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī

The very chaste princess, Ar *ma'sūm*, chaste, innocent, and *sultān*, sway, pre eminence

Fifth and youngest daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā Muān-shāhī Her mother was Habība-sultān Begam *Aīghānī* She married Babar (her first cousin) in 918H (1507), and from his account of the affair it was a love-match on both sides She was half sister of 'Āyisha, Bābar's first wife She died in child-bed, and her infant received her name

Gul badān, 6b

Mems, 22, 208, 225, 281, 429 Supplement

CXXXIV Ma'sūma-sultān Begam Mīrān-shāhī (No 43)

Daughter of Bābar and Ma'sūma, wife of Muhammad-zamān Mīrzā Bayqra

Gul badān, 6b, 28a, 25b, 29b

Allbar nāma, s.n

Mems, 22, 395, 429 Supplement

CXXXV Maywa-jān

fruit of life, Pers *mavira*, fruit, and *jān*, life

Daughter of Khazang *yasānāl* and a servant of
Gul-badan Begam, an inferior wife of Humāyūn

Gul badan, 21b, 22a, 30a

CXXXVI Mihr-angez Begam (No 29)

The princess who commands affection, Pers *mihr*
affection, and *angez*, commanding, raising

Daughter of Mu'azzar Husain Mirza *Bāyqā*, grand
daughter of Sultān Husain *Bāyqā* and Khadija

She was accomplished after the fashion of gentle
men-at arms and she played polo

She was married by 'Ubadu'l-lah *I-līq* when
Harat was taken by Shaibani (913H, June, 1507)

She was at the Mystic Feast in 1531

Gul badan, 21b

Habibu's-siyar 397 et seq

CXXXVII Mihr-bānū Begam *Mirān shāhī* (? No 27)

The beloved, Pers *mihr*, affection, and *banū*
possessing

Daughter of 'Umar Shāikh *Mirān shāhī* and of Umid
Indiyānī, full sister of Nāṣir and Shahr-banū, born
in 886H (1481-82)

Gul-badan mentions a Mihr-līq Begam (No 27) who
was a paternal aunt of Humāyūn, as being at the Mystic
Feast. This may be Mihr-banū. No aunt named
Mihr-līq is mentioned elsewhere, and *līq* and *banū*
have the same sense

Gul badan, 25a

Mems, 10

CXXXVIII Mihr-bānū Khanam

I think she is a relative of Bābāi, and she may be the
daughter of 'Umar Shāikh and Umid, and thus Bābāi's
half-sister (See *infra*) From her title of Khanam,

she is very possibly a Chaghatai on her mother's side (Umid was an Andijani), or the style is due to her marriage with a khān. She appears to have married a man of high rank, perhaps Kūchūm (*Qūch-kunji*) Khān who was Khāqān of his tribe from 1510 to 1530, or his son and successor (ruled from 1530 to 1588). She had a son Pulād whom Bābar mentions as fighting with 'Qūch-kunji' and his son Abū-sa'īd *Uzbeg* at Jām (1528).

The Qūch-kunji was the tribe of Isān-daulat Kūchūm, Abū-sa'īd, Mīhr-bānū, and Pulād sent ambassadors and messengers to Bābar in the same year, and Bābar mentions his return gifts with quaint particularity. The envoys were entertained at a feast by him on December 12th, 1528 (935H.)

Mems., 10, 890, 895, 897, 899

Tür Rash, E & R, s.n. Kuchum and Sultān and 208 n
Muhammadan Dynasties, Stanley Lane Poole, 278

CXXXIX Mīhr-jahān or -jān Begam Mīrān-shāhī

Sun of the world or of life, Pers. *mīhr*, sun, and *jahān*, world, or *jān*, life, soul

Daughter of Bābar and Māham, born at Khost, died an infant

Gul badan, 6b

CXL Mīhr-migān Khānam Chaghatai Mughal

The image of affection, or a very sun

Eldest daughter of Yūnas Khān Chaghatai and Isān-daulat (*Qūchīn, Kunji*), born *cir* 860H (1455-56), wife of Sultan Ahmad Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī, first cousin of Bābar.

In 905H (early in July, 1500) she was captured by Shaibānī and married by him. In 906H (1500-1) she was divorced when he wished to marry Khān-zāda, her niece. She then stayed awhile in Samarqand. In 907H (1501-2) she went to Tāshkand and joined

Mirān-shāhī who brought her when she herself married Sultān Husain, and presented her to him

She was mother of three sons Abū-tūrāb, Muham-mad Husain, and Farīdūn Husain, and of two daughters Bairām (or Maryam) and Fātīma

Mems, 181, 182, 183
Habību s-syār (lith ed), 327 et seq

CXLII Ming-līq kūhātash

She escaped from Samarcand with Bābar's mother on its capture by Shaibānī in 907H (1501)

Mems, 98

CXLIII Mubārikā Bibī, Afghānī aghācha (No 56)

Ar *mubārikā*, blessed, fortunate

She was a daughter of Shāh Mansūl Yūsufzai, and was married by Bābar at Kehāj on January 30th, 1519 (Muhamarram 28th, 925H). The alliance was the sign and seal of amity between him and her tribe. A charming account of her and her marriage is given in the *Tarikh-i-hafiz i-rahmat-khānī*, and Mr Beveridge has translated it in full under the title 'An Afgān Legend,' so that it need not be reproduced here.

Gul-badan never gives the name Mubārikā (Blessed Damozel) as that of the Afgān lady (*Afghānī aghācha*) whom she so frequently and pleasantly mentions. Hafiz Muhammad (*l.c.*) says that Mubārikā was much beloved by Bābar, and this is borne out by the fact that she was one of the small and select party of ladies who were the first to join him in India. She went there, it is safe to infer, with Māham and Gul-badan in 1529.

She bore no child, and this misfortune Hafiz Muhammad attributes to the envy of other wives who administered drugs to deprive her of motherhood and weaken her husband's affection.

She died early in Akbar's reign

She is occasionally spoken of simply as 'Khānam'

Gul badan, 62b

Aḥbar nāma, s n

Aīn i akbarī, Blochmann, s n

Tūr Rāsh, E & R, 451

Cf Introduction

CXLVII Munauwar Sultān Begam Bāyqā

The illuminated princess, Ar *munauwar*, bright illuminated

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqā* and Bābā āghācha, wife of Sayyid Mīrzā of Andekhud who appears also to have married her niece She was famed for her beauty The Memoirs and Ilminsky's text do not give her name, and I have found it in the *Habību-s-siyār* From this same work is derived the information that Sayyid Mīrzā is a name given to a son of Ulugh Beg Mīrzā *Mīrān-shahī*

Mems, 182

Habību s siyār, 827 et seq

CXLVIII Nāhīd Begam (No 54)

Pers *Nāhīd*, the name of the mother of Alexander, a name for the planet Venus, etc

Daughter of Māh-chūchak *Aīghūn* by her marriage as a captive of Bābar, with his foster-brother Qāsim, wife of Muhibb-‘alī *Bairās*

When her mother, resenting her position in a misalliance, ran away, Nāhīd, then eighteen months old, remained in Kābul

When her mother was imprisoned in Sind by Muhammad Bāqī *Tālkhān*, Nāhīd escaped to Bhakkar, and was protected, till her return to Akbar's court, by Sultān Mahmūd *Bhalkarī* (975H)

She was at Hindāl's wedding feast Much of her story is contained in the Introduction of this volume

Gul badan, 4a, 28a

Tārīkh-i-sind, Mīr Ma'sūm

Bādshāh nāma s n (fully used by Blochmann)

Aīn i akbarī, Blochmann, s n

B & H, I 348, 351, 352, 385

CXLIX Nār-gul āghācha (No 58)

(?) Red as a rose, pomegranate red 1 or *nār* see
infra Pers *gul*, a rose

She was perhaps one of two Circassian slaves, of whom Gul-nār may be the other and who were sent to Bābūr by Tahmāsp in 1526

Mems, 847
 Gul badan, 25b, 35a, 38a

CL Nīr-sultān āqhā (No 77)

Presumably Pers *nār*, a pomegranate, but it might be Ar *nār*, advice, counsel, or even fire and *sultān*, pre eminence a high degree of what is expressed by the first word of the compound name

Gul badan, 26a

CLI Nīgār āqhā (No 76)

Pers *nigār*, a mistress, a sweetheart
 Mother of Mughal Beg

Gul badan, 26a

CLII Nīzhād-sultān Begam Bāyqīā

The princess of highly distinguished race, Pers *nīzhād*, family, high born, Ar *sultān*, pre eminence
 Eldest daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqīā* and Bāba āghācha, wife of Sikandar Mīrzā, son of *Bāyqīā* Mīrzā who was her father's elder brother

Mems, 182
Habību s siyār, 387 et seq

CLIII Pāpā (?) Bābā) āghācha

Mr Erskine writes *Papa* and Ilmūnskā, perhaps following him, *Pāpā Bābā*—i.e., darling—would seem a more fitting name for one who is said to have been much beloved

She was a low-born wife of Sultān Husain Mīrzā *Bāyqīā* and foster-sister of Āfāq Begam. The mīrzā 'saw her and liked her,' and she became mother of seven of his children, i.e., four sons, Muhammad

Ma'sūm, Farrūkh Husain, Ibn Husain, Ibrāhīm Husain, of three daughters, Nīzhād-sultān, Sa'ādat-bakht, and a third whose name Bābar does not give

Mems, 181, 182, 188

CLIV Pāshā Begam Bahārlū Turkomān of the Black Sheep

(?) Turkī Pāshā, a lord, or Pers *pecha*, chief, before
The Ma'āsir i rahīmī writes pāshā

Daughter of 'Alī-shakr Beg Bahārlū, wife (1) of Muhammadi Mīrzā of the Black Sheep, (2) in 873H (1468-69) of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī, mother by Mahmūd of three daughters and one son, Bayasanghar (born 882H)

Bābar does not give the name of any one of the three girls, nor does he mention that one of them was a wife of his own One married Malik Muhammad Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī The Ma'āsir-i-rahīmī supplies the information that another was Sālha-sultān Begam and that she had a daughter by Bābar whose name was Gul-rukh, that Gul-rukh married Nūru-d-dīn Muhammad Chaqānīānī, and had by him Salima-sultān Begam Abū'l-fazl says that a daughter of Pāshā by Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā was married to Khwāja Hasan Khicāja-zāda, and that on account of this connection *Firdaus-makānī* (Bābar) married Mīrzā Nūru-d-dīn to his own daughter, Gul-barg Begam, and that Salima-sultān Begam was the issue of this marriage

(There are difficulties connected with the account here given of Sālha which are set forth under the name of her daughter, Salima-sultān)

Pāshā Begam was of the same family as Bairām Khān (Cf genealogical table s n Salima-sultān)

Mems, 29 80, 81, 72

Tār Rāsh, E & R, 98 n.

Ma'āsir i rahīmī, Asiatic Society of Bengal MS in year 1024H.

CLV Pāyanda-sultān Begam Mīān-shāhī

(?) Of fixed pre eminence, Pers *pāyanda*, firm, stable, and Ar *sulṭān*, pre-eminence

Daughter of Abū-sa'īd Sultān Mīrzā Mīān-shāhī, paternal aunt of Bābar, wife of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqīā, sister of Shahr-bānū whom Sultān Husain Mīrzā divorced, mother of Haider Mīrzā Bāyqīā, of Āq, Kichak, Begā, and Āghā Begams

When the Uzbegs took Khurāsān, 913H (1507-8), she went to 'Irāq, where 'she died in distress'

Mems, 80, 180, 181, 182, 204, 208 and n., 228
Gul-badan 25a (here a *Muhammad* is inserted after *Pāyanda* in the name)

CLVI Qadīr Khānam Qālmāq

Daughter of Amāsānījī Taishī Qālmāq and Makh-duma Khānam *Chaqhatātī*

Tār Rāsh, E & R, 91

CLVII Qarā-qūz Begam Bāyqīā

The black eyed princess *Qarā gūz* is a sobriquet, and I have not found her personal name

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqīā and Pāyanda sultān Begam Mīān-shāhī, wife of Nāsir Mīrzī, Bābar's half-brother

Mems, 181

(*Qarā-gūz* Begam, Rabī'a, q 1)

(*Qarā gūz* Begam, Makhdu'ma, q 1)

CLVIII Qūtūq āghācha and Begam

Ilinsky writes *Qūtūq*, Mems, *Katah*

Foster-sister of *Tcīkhān* Begam, wife of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā Mīān-shāhī, mother of four daughters (1) Rabī'a (*Qarā-qūz*), (2) Salīqa (Āq), 'Āyisha (wife of Bābar, (4) Sultānam

She was married 'for love,' and Ahmad was 'pro-

digiously attached' to her. She drank wine, her co-wives were neglected from fear of her. At length her husband put her to death, and 'delivered himself from his reproach.'

Mems., 22

CLIX Qūt-līq (Qutluq) Khānam Chaghataī Mughal

(?) The image of happiness, from Turkī *qūtla*, happy, and *līq*, endowed with

Daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Khān Chaghataī, wife of Jānī Beg Khān *Uzbeg*

Her marriage was a sequel of victory by Shaibānī over her father Cf. 'Āyisha (her sister)

Tār Rāsh, E & R, 160, 251

CLX Qūt-līq-nigār Khānam Chaghataī Mughal

Second daughter of Yūnas Khān Chaghataī and Isān-daulat Qūchīn, chief wife of 'Umar shāikh Mīrān-shāhī, half-sister of Mahmūd and Ahmad Khāns, mother of Khān-zāda and Bābar

She accompanied her son in most of his wars and expeditions, and lived to see him master of Kābul. She died in Muḥarram, 911H (June, 1505)

Mems., 10, 11, 12, 80, 90, 94, 95, 99, 104, 105, 134, 169
Gul badan, 4a

Tār Rāsh, s n

Albar nāma, s n

CLXI Rabī'a-sultān Begam Bāyqīā and Bedkā Begam

Bāyqīā

These two names may indicate the same person

The Memoirs (176 and 177) say that Sultān Husain Mīzā Bāyqīā had two full-sisters, Āka and Bedkā, and that Bedkā married Ahmad Hājī Tarkhān, and had two sons who served Sultān Husain

These statements are contained also in the Turkī texts (B M Add 26,324, and Ilminsky), and also in a considerable number of good Persian texts in the British Museum and Bodleian

There is, however, this difference of statement
The Turkī texts write *Bedka Begam ham mīrzā nīnak
aīkā chī sī aīdī* P de C translates *était aussi
l'aînée du mīrzā* The Persian texts have *Bedka
Begam ki khuāhā-i-khwud mīrzā būd*, and from this
Mr Erskine translates *the mīrzā's younger sister*

The Turkī, it should be observed, uses of Āka
precisely the same word as of Bedka, *aīkā-chī sī*

It may be right to regard Bedka as the younger of
the two sisters of the mīrzā, and not as the sister
younger than the mīrzā

To pass now to what has led me to make a tenta-
tive identification of Bedka with Rabī'a-sultān

The Memoirs (181) mention Rabī'a-sultān as the
younger sister of the mīrzā (Husain) and as having
two sons, Bābar and Murād who were given in
marriage to two daughters of Husain

The Turkī texts do not describe Rabī'a sultān in
any way, or say that she was Husam's sister They
simply mention the marriages

The Persian texts say of Husain's two daughters
(Bega and Āghā) *ba pīsārān-i-khwāhā-i-khurd-i-
khudīā Rabī'a sultān Begam, Bābar Mīrzā uā Sultān
Murād Mīrzā, dādā būdān*

The Persian texts which state that Rabī'a-sultān
was Husain's own sister, have greater authority than
most translations can claim for such additional in-
formation as is here given, because the Persian trans-
lation of the *Tūzūh-i-bābāī* was made in a court circle
and at a date when such additional statements were
likely to be known to many living persons

Husain may have had a younger and half-sister,
but the words in the Persian texts which are used of
Rabī'a sultān are those used of Bedka, and they are
more applicable to a full than a half sister

The *Āka* of the passage in which Bedka is men-
tioned has no personal name recorded Bedka may
be a word of the same class as *āla*, i.e., a title or

sobriquet, and Rabī'a-sultān may be the personal name of Bedka. Perhaps the word *Bedka* is *Beqa*

The facts of Bedka's descent are as follows she was a daughter of Mansūr Mīrzā Bāyqīā and of Firoza Begam Mīrān-shāhī, and thus doubly a Timūrid. She was full-sister of Bāyqīā and Husain Mīrzās and of Ākā Begam. She married Ahmad Khān Hājī Tarkhān, and had two sons whose names (if Bedka be Rabī'a-sultān) were Bābar and Muīād and who married two of her nieces, Bega and Āghā.

Mems., 176, 177, 181

Ilminsky, 203, 204 208

B M Turki Add 26,284, f 48a and b, 53

Other texts under 911H

CLXII Rabī'a-sultān Begam (Qarā-qaz) Mīrān shāhī

Daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mirza Mīrān-shāhī and Qūtūq (Katak) āghācha (Begam), wife (1) of Sultān Mahmūd Khān Chaghataī and mother of Bābā Sultān, and (2) of Jānī Beg Uzbeg who married her after the murder of her father and her son by his cousin Shaibānī in 914H (1508)

Mems., 22

Tar Rash, I & R, 114 116

CLXIII Rajab-sultān Mīrān shāhī

Ar *rajab*, fearing, worshipping. *Sultān* may here be a title

Daughter of Sultān Mahmud Mirza and a concubine (*ghūncha chī*)

Mems., 30

CLXIV Ruqaiya Begam Mīrān shāhī

Ruqaiya was the name of a daughter of Muhammad, and conveys the notion of bewitching or of being armed against spells

Daughter of Hindal, first wife of Akbar, she died Jumāda I 7th, 1035H (January 19th, 1626), at the age of eighty-four. She had no children of her own, and she brought up Shah jahan Mihru-n nisā' (Nūr-

jahān) lived 'unnoticed and rejected' with her after the death of Shīr-afkān

Aīn-i-albarī, Blochmann, 309, 509

CLXV Ruqaiya-sultan Begam Mīrān shāhī

Daughter of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrān-shāhī and Makh-dūma-sultān Begam (*Qaiā-qūz*) She was a posthumous child She fell into the hands of Jānī Beg *l-zbiq*, c. 908 9H (1502-4), and bore him 'two or three' sons who died young 'I have just received information that she has gone to the mercy of God' The date of this entry in the Memoirs is about 935H (1528 ?)

Mems., 10

CLXVI Sa'ādat-bakht (Begam Sultān) Bāyqīā

Of happy fortune, Ar *sa'ādat*, happy, and Pers *bakht*, fortune

Daughter of Sultān Husain Mīrzā Bāyqīā and Papa (Bāba) *āqhācha* She was married to Sultān Ma'sūd after the loss of his eyesight

Mems., 182.

Habību s-siyār, 827 *et seq*

CLXVII Sāhib-daulat Begam Dughlāt

The princess of good fortune, Ar *sāhib*, enjoying, and *daulat*, fortune

Sister of Mīr Jabīr Bairī Dughlāt, wife of Sultan Ahmad Khān *Chaqhatātī*, mother of Mansūr, Bābājāh, Shāh Shaikh Muhammad and Māham

Tār Rāsh, E & R, 125, 844

CLXVIII Sakīna-bānū Begam Mīrān-shāhī

The princess guardian of tranquillity, Ar *sakīna*, tranquillity of mind, and Pers *bānū*, keeper

Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh-chūchak, wife of Shāh Ghāzī Khān, son of Naqīb Khān *Qazwīnī*, a personal friend of Akbar

Gul badan, 71a
Blochmann, 485, 449

CLXIX Sâlha-sultân Begam Mîrân-shâhî

Cf Salima-sultân Chaqânîanî

• CLXX Salîma-sultân Begam Chaqânîanî

Daughter of Mirzâ Nûru-d-dîn Muhammad Chaqânîanî and of a daughter of Bâbar, as to whose name the sources ring changes upon the rose. She appears as Gul-rang (B and H s n), Gul-barg, Gul-rukh. As her mother was a full Turkoman or Turk by descent, it has occurred to me that she may have borne a Turkî name, and that the various forms it assumes in the Persian may have their origin in this.

As to her maternal parentage there are difficulties. From the *Ma'âsin-i-iâhîmî*, under 1024H, the following information is obtained. Pâshâ Begam Bahâîlû Turkomân married (873H, 1469) as her second husband, Sultân Mahmûd Mîrzâ Mîrân-shâhî. By him she had three daughters and one son Bayasanghar (b 882H, 1477). One daughter whose name was Sâlha sultân Begam, married Bâbâi and bore him a daughter, Gul-rukh (*sic*). Gul-rukh married Nûru-d-dîn Muhammad Chaqânîanî, and their daughter was Salîma-sultân Begam who married first, Bairâm Khân-i-khanân, and secondly, the Emperor Akbar.

Abû'l-fazl (*Bib Ind* ed., II 65) adds the particular that *Fudaus mahânî* gave his daughter Gul-barg (*sic*), to Nûru-d-dîn because a daughter of Mahmûd and Pâshâ had been given to Nûru-d-dîn's grandfather Khwâja Hasan, known as Khwâja-zâda Chaqânîanî. He also states that Salîma-sultân Begam was the issue of Gul-barg's marriage.

In the Memoirs, as we have them, there is no mention of Sâlha-sultân nor of Nûru-d dîn's marriage with a daughter of Bâbar. Yet Abû'l-fazl states that *Fudaus-mahânî* arranged Gul-barg's marriage. The first omission is the more remarkable because Bâbar (Mems., 30) states that Pâshâ had three daughters. He does not give their names, and specifies the

marriage of the eldest only. On the same page he tells of his marriage with Sulha's half-sister Zainab and of her death. The omission is remarkable and appears to have no good ground, since he chronicles his other Timurid marriages. Of Pasha's daughters it may be noted here that one married Malik Muhammad *Miran shâhî*, another Khwâjâ Hasan *Chaghanâî*, and the third Babar.

It appears to me tolerably clear that Babar's marriage with Sulha sultân took place at a date which falls in a gap of the Memoirs, i.e., from 1511 to 1519. This is the period which contains the exile from Kabul after the Mughal rebellion.

Not only does Babar omit Sulha sultân's name and his marriage with her (Mems., 30), but Gulbadan is also silent as to name, marriage and child of Sulha-sultân. This silence is in every way remarkable. She enumerates her father's children and gives their mothers' names, and she enumerates some of his wives in more places than one. From her lists a Timurid wife cannot have escaped, and especially one whose child became the mother of Gulbadan's associate Salma sultân.

An explanation of Gulbadan's silence and also of a part of Babar's has suggested itself to me, it is conjectural merely and hypothetical. The absence of mention of Sulha sultân and of her child suggests that she appears under another name in Gulbadan's list of her father's children and their mothers. She may be Gulbadan's own mother, Dil dîr Begam without undue wresting of known circumstantial witness.

The principal difficulty in the way of this identification is Abu'l-fazl's statement that Duru'd-dîn's marriage was made by *Irdaus makâni*, whereas Gulbadan states that her father arranged two Chaghatai marriages for her sisters.

If we might read *Jannat-âshyâni* (Humâyûn) for *Irdaus-makâni* much would fall into place, the

marriage with Nūru-dīn could be a re-marriage of Gul-chihā who was widowed in 1533, and of whose remarriage nothing is recorded until her brief political alliance with 'Abbas *Uzbeg* in 1549. It is probable that she remarried in the interval.

To pass on to recorded incidents of Salīma-sultān's life

There is an entry in Hindāl's guest-list which may indicate her presence

She accompanied Hamīda bānū and Gul-badan to Hindūstan in 964H (1557), and she was married at Jalindhar shortly after Safar 15th, 965H (middle of December, 1557) to Bairām Khān i khānān. It is said that the marriage excited great interest at Court. It united two streams of descent from 'Alī shukī Beg *Bahārlū Twilomān*. Salīma sultān was a Timurid through Bābar, one of her grandfathers, and through Mahmūd, one of her great-grandfathers.

A few words must be said about her age at the time of her marriage, because the question has been raised through Jahāngīr's statement that she died at the age of sixty in 1021H, and commented upon by the *Darbār-i albārī*. If Jahāngīr gives her age correctly she must have been born in 961H, and this would make her a child of five when she married Bairam, and needs her betrothal by her father to Bairam to date from babyhood.

The *Darbār-i albārī* says that it is clear from Jahāngīr's statement of her age at death that she was married to Bairām *at* 5, and that her memory is thus cleared from the reproach of two marriages!

Whatever is concealed in Jahāngīr's 'sixty,' nothing is said to indicate that he desired to bring Salīma-sultān into the circle of Hindū propriety. He may have had the wish, he was a Hindu mother's son. The comment of the modern author of the *Darbār-i-*

akbarī witnesses to the Hindūizing action to which Moslim custom and thought have submitted Adult remarriage was no reproach to Islām in Salīma's day

It does not, however, seem correct to accept Jahāngīr's statement that Salīma-sultān was sixty only at death To have betrothed her as a baby and to have married her to a man of, at least, middle-age at five, is not in harmony with the Muhammad custom of Humāyūn's day Moreover, Jahāngīr himself speaks of her as married (*kad khudā*) to Bairām She is said by Abū'l-faṣl to have been betrothed (*nāmzād*) by Humāyūn, and married (*sipurīdan*) by Akbar to Bairām Khān

Badāyuni's words indicate adult and not child marriage, *sābiqā dāi habāla-i-Bairām Khān Khān-i-khānān būd, b'ad azān dakhla i-haram-i-pādshāhī shūd*

After the murder of Bairām in 968H Salīma-sultān was married by Akbar She was probably a few years his senior

In 983H she made her pilgrimage with Gul-badan Particulars of the expedition are given in the Introduction to this volume

Her name appears in the histories as a reader, a poet who wrote under the pseudonym of *makhfī*, and as pleading with Akbar for Salīm's forgiveness

Her death is chronicled by Jahāngīr who heard of it on Zū'l qa'da 2nd, 1021H (December 15th, 1612) He gives particulars of her birth and descent, and of her marriages, and he states that she was sixty at the time of her death By his orders her body was laid in a garden which she herself had made

Jahāngīr praises her both for her natural qualities and her acquirements She creates an impression of herself as a charming and cultivated woman

Gul badan, (?)26a

Akbar *nāma* s n

Badāyuni, Lowe, 18, 216, 889

Tūzuk i jahāngīrī, Sayyid Ahmad, Aligarh, 118

Khūfi Khān, Bib Ind ed, I 278

Āīn i akbarī, Blochmann, s n

Darbār-i akbarī, 736

The genealogical table on the next page illustrates Salīma sultān's descent, and the following dates bear also upon the topic

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Pāshā married Mahmūd | 878H — 1469 |
| Bayasanghar born | 882H — 1477 |
| Mahmūd died | 900H — Jan 1495 |
| Bābāi married Zainab, d. of Mahmūd | 910H — 1504 |
| Zainab died | 913H 914H — 1507 8 |
| Sālha's child, the wife of Nūru dīn, was not born in 911H — 1511, because she is not in the list of children who left Kābul with Babar in that year (Gulbadan, 7a) | |

CLXXI Salīma Khānām Chaqhatāī Mughal

Daughter of Khizi Khwājā, but whether also of Gul-badan is not recorded

She went with Gul-badan to Makka in 983H (1575)

Aīn-i akbarī, Blochmann, 441

CLXXII Salīqa-sultān Begam (Āq Begam) Mīrān shāhī

(Ilminsky, 25, reads Sālha.) The princess of excellent disposition, Ar *salīqa*, of good disposition, and *sultān*, pre eminence

Daughter of Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī and Qūtūq (Katak) Begam, wife of her cousin Ma'sūd. The marriage was announced to Bābāi in 900H (1494) with gifts of gold and silver, almonds, and pistachios. She was captured by Abū-hakr Dughlat with Shāh Begam and Mihr-nigār Khānām

Mensis, 22, 27

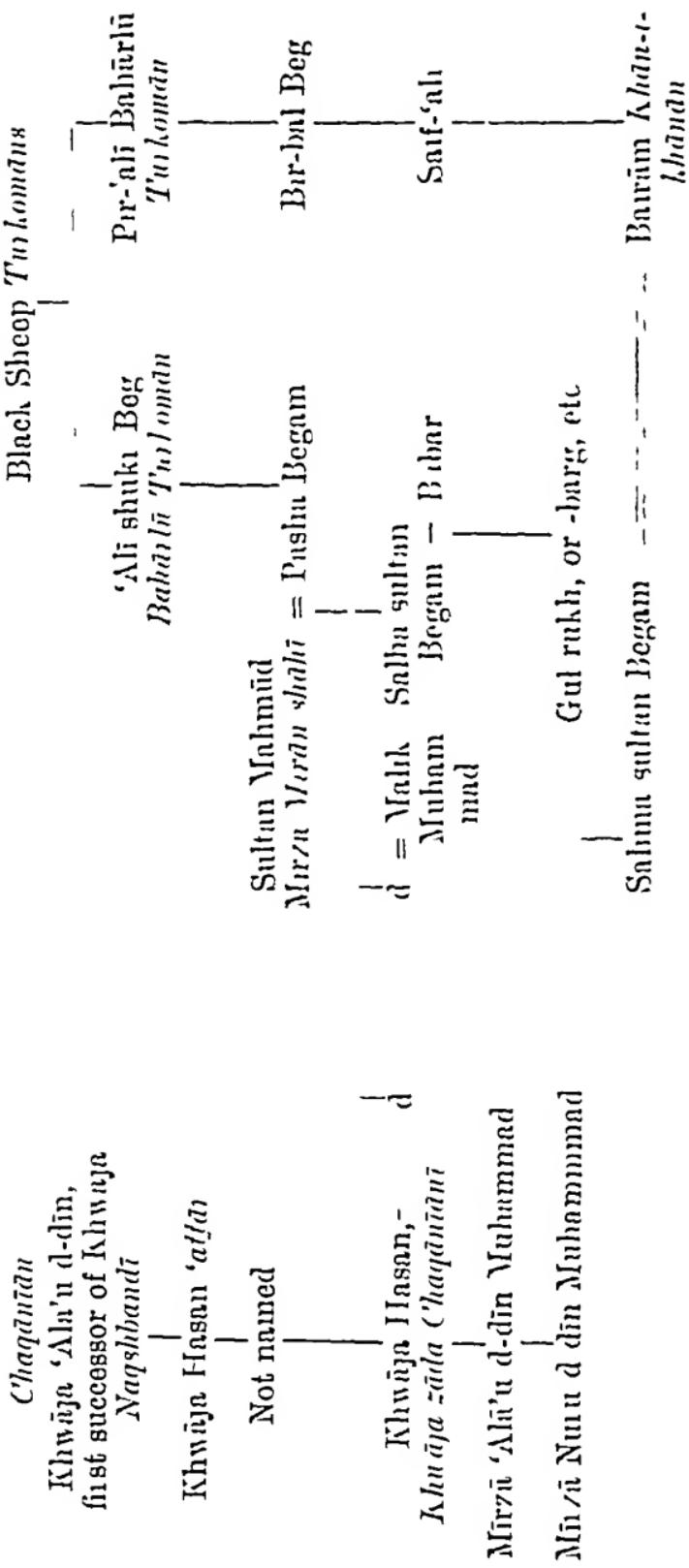
CLXXIII Samīha Begam Bairās

The gentle princess, Ar *sāmīh*, gentle

Daughter of Muhibb 'Alī Bairās (son of Ni'māmu dīn 'Alī Khalīfa), and presumably of Nūhīd Begam, mother of Mujāhid Khān

Mujāhid (who is named in the *Tabaqat-i akbarī* as commander of 1,000, but is not in the *Aīn*) was a son

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF SALIMA-SULTAN CHAQĀNĪĀN



of Musâlibh Khân, son of Khwâja Kilân (Bâbar's friend)

Ain-i akbarî, Blochmann, 421, 533

CLXXIV Sarv-qad and Sarv-i-sahî

Straight as a cypress, Pers *sarv*, a cypress, and *qad*, form, or *sahî*, erect

Sarv-i-sahî, to use Gul-badan's word, was a singer and reciter. She belonged to the households both of Bâbar and Humâyûn, and was subsequently married, with full *nishbat*, to Mu'nîm Khân-i-khanân.

She acted as go-between of Mu'nîm and Khân-i-zamân ('Alî Quli Uzbeq-i shârbâni) during the rebellion of the latter—probably in the tenth year of Akbar, and Bayazid calls her a reliable woman and the *haram* of the Khân-i-khanân. She sang on the way to Lamghân by moonlight in 958II (1551), she was with Mu'nîm at the time of his death in Gaur (Safar, 983II, 1575), and in Rajab of the same year accompanied Gul-badan to Makka.

Gul-badan, 82a (inserted in the translation after 78b)

Bâyazid, I O MS, 122b, 147b

Akbar-nâma, Bib Ind ed., III 145

CLXXV Shâd Begam Bayqârâ (No 28)

Daughter of Haidai *Bâyqârâ* and Begâ *Mirânshâhî*, wife of 'Adil Sultân

Gul-badan, 25a

Mems, 180

CLXXV (a) Shâd Bibî

Wife of Humâyûn, lost at Chausa.

Gul-badan, 88b

CLXXVI Shâham aghâ

(?) My queen, from Pers *shâh*, king, ruler

Of the *haram* of Humâyûn. She went with Gul-badan Begam to Makka in 983II

Ain-i akbarî, Blochmann, 441

CLXXVII Shāh Begam *Badakhshī*

The princess of royal blood

She was one of six daughters of Shāh Sultān Muhammād, King of Badakhshīn, the last of a long line of hereditary rulers of his country who claimed descent from Alexander of Macedon. Her mother was a sister of Sultān Sanjar Bārlās.

She was given in marriage to Yūnas Khān *Chaghataī* and was the mother of Mahmūd and Ahmad Khāns and of Sultān-nigār and Daulat Khānamis. She was widowed in 892H (1487), and survived Yūnas more than twenty years.

She dwelt in Mughalistan with her elder son, Mahmud, the then Khanqān of the Mughals from the time of Yūnas' death until about 911H (1505-6). Then 'base advisers provoked a quarrel between the mother and son—a son so obedient that he had never even mounted for a ride without her permission. They [the base advisers] decided to send Shah Begam to Shāhī Beg Khan to solicit a country for herself, because she found living in Mughalistan distasteful. Now, as the Begam was a very sensible woman, she went under this pretext, and thus left her son before those base advisers could bring about an open rupture which would have caused endless scandal and reproach to herself. The rumour was that she had gone to entreat Shāhī Beg Khan while she was really enjoying in Samārqand the company of her children' (*Tarīk Rāshī*, E & R, 180).

Shāhī Beg did not permit her to remain in Samārqand but banished her to Khurasān. From Khurasān she went with other connections and relations to Bābar in Kabul. They arrived early in 911H (June, 1505), during the ceremonial mourning for Bābar's mother, Shāh Begam's stepdaughter. With Shāh Begam was Haidar Mūzā's father and also Bābar's aunt, Mihi-nigār. Haidar says that Bābar gave the party a warm welcome and showed them all possible

Kīchak, she was the wife of Sharafu d-dīn Husam
(Cf. Kīchak)

She was at the Mystic Feast

Gul badan, 24b

CLXXXIX Shāh Khānam (No 17)

Daughter of Badi'u-l-jamāl Begam

Gul badan, 21b

CLXXX Shahr-bānū Begam Mīrān shāhī

(?) Ar. *shahr*, the moon, the new moon

Daughter of Sultān Abū sa'īd Mirza Mīrān shāhī
wife of Sultān Husam Mirza Bāygūr, and married to
him before his accession in 573H (March, 1169)

Babar gives an entertaining detail about her married life. Once at Chekman her husband was engaged in a battle with her brother Mahmud. All his ladies except herself alighted from their litters and mounted on horseback, presumably for rapid flight if the day went against Husain. Shahr-bānū, however, 'reliving on her brother,' remained in her litter. This being reported to her husband, he divorced her and married her younger sister, Pāyanda sultān.

Of her subsequent history nothing seems recorded
(Cf. Mīnglī-bī āqhācha)

Mems., 182

CLXXXVI Shahr-bānū Begam Mīrān shāhī (No 7)

Third daughter of Umar Shaikh Mirza Mīrān shāhī and Umīd Āndījānī half-sister of Babar and eight years his junior, born c. 1491 full-sister of Nāsir and Mīhr-bānū, wife of Junaid Barlaś (brother of Nizāmu-d-dīn Ali Khalīfa), mother by him of Sanjar Mirzā, widowed c. 944H (1537-88)

She seems to have gone to Sind with her nephew,

CINNAMON SHAH TELLING HER STORY

| | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Daughter of Sultan | M | M | W | W |
| Baron Pemba | S | S | W | W |
| Wife of Sultan | M | M | W | W |
| Daughter of Sultan | M | M | W | W |
| Daughter of Sultan | M | M | W | W |

CINNAMON SHAH'S STORY

| | | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Daughter of Sultan | M | M | W | W |
| Daughter of Sultan | M | M | W | W |
| Daughter of Sultan | M | M | W | W |
| Daughter of Sultan | M | M | W | W |
| Daughter of Sultan | M | M | W | W |

When the Sultan's wife died he was very grieved. He sent for his brother-in-law, Sultan Amur, and said, "I have no son. Please bring your daughter here to be my wife." Her brother-in-law agreed to do so. When the Sultan saw her he was delighted. He advanced the marriage and established the Cinnamon Shah dynasty.

Sultan Amur started from India to the court of the Sultan with a grand audience. He was received and seated at the Indra and Lekshmi thrones. After the ceremony for burial

There are curious ommissions of the vest in the passage about Sultan Amur which occurs at Mervi, 181.

The first point to note is contained in the word "Her elder brother gave her in marriage to Sultan

marriage to Awiq Haidar Mirza throws some light, and it seems that when Shaibun had murdered her brother, Mahmud Khan, Awiq left him and joined the Uzbeg Qazags; his own people and Sultan-nigar followed him into Mughalistan.

She had two daughters by Awiq, one of whom married Abdurrahim Qachan and died a young wife, and the other married Rashid Sultan *Chahatun*.

On Awiq's death, Sultan-nigar was married to his brother Qisum, presumably in consonance with the Turki custom of *yanjalil*.

With Qisum's death, the Ihsanship of the *Qazag* devolved on Sultan-nigar's stepson (i.e., Awiq's by a co-wife) named Tahir. 'He was,' says Haidar, 'very much attached to her, and even preferred her to the mother who had given him birth.'

What follows is full of colour and feeling. Nigar Sultan showed her appreciation of Tahir's affection, but petitioned him saying 'Although you are my child, and I neither think of nor desire any son but you, yet I wish you to take me to my nephew Sultan Said Khan. For I am grown old, and I have no longer the strength to bear this wandering life in the deserts of Ubegistán. Take me where I may enjoy some quiet and repose.' She then offered to mediate for him and to obtain the support for him of the Mughal Khagan against his foes. Tahir accordingly escorted her to the Mughalistan borders, and with her waited upon Said. 'The latter, from love of his aunt, rose, saying that although his rising to receive Tahir was contrary to the rules of Chingiz (their common ancestor), yet that he did it out of gratitude because Tahn had brought his aunt.'

Sultan-nigar died of a hemorrhage in the summer of 934H (1528).

Mems., 13, 14, 30, 31, 99, 105
Tar. Rash., 1 & R, 8n

CXCI Ulugh Begam (No 10)

Daughter of Zainab Sultān Begam, grand-daughter of Sultān Abū-sa'īd, first cousin of Bābar

Gul badan, 24b

CXCII Ülüs (Anūsh and Alūsh) āqhā Tūlkomān (? No 53)

Turkī, ülüs, tribe Clearly a title

Daughter of Khwāja Husain Beg *Tūlkomān* of the White Sheep, an amīr of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrān-shāhī, wife of 'Umar Shaikhī, mother of a girl who died in infancy. She was removed from the *hājām* a year or eighteen months after her marriage. Gul-badan mentions a begam of this name as at Hindāl's wedding-feast, whether she is Ülüs āqhā promoted, I have no means of knowing.

Mems, 14
Gul badan, 28a

CXCIII Ümīd āqhācha Andijānī

Pers ümīd, hope

An inferior wife of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī whom she predeceased. She was the mother of Mahr-bānū who was two years older than Bābar and will have been born therefore in 1481, of Nāṣū who was born in 1487, and of Shahī bānū who was born in 1491.

Mems, 10, 14.

CXCIV Umm-kulsūm Begam Mīrān-shāhī

A surname of Fātimā, daughter of Muhammad, *Ar umm*, mother, and *kulsūm*, plumpness

Grand-daughter of Gul-badan Begam and a member of the Haj of 983H

Akbar nāma, III 145

CXCVIII Zainab-sultān Begam Mīān-shāhī(?) From Ar *zain*, adorning

Fifth daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā and Khān-zāda Begam (b) *Temizî*, first cousin and wife of Bābar

She was married at the instance of Qūt-līq-nigār, in the year of the capture of Kābul, i.e., 910H (1504-5), perhaps at the time that Jahāngīr Mīrzā, Bābar's half-brother, married her half-sister, Āq Begam. The marriage was not happy. Two or three years later Zainab died of small-pox.

Mems, 80

CXCIX Zainab-sultān Khānam Chaghataī Mughal

(No 19)

Daughter of Sultān Mahmūd Khān Chaghataī Mughal, favourite wife of Sultān Sa'īd Khān Kāshqāharī, her first cousin, aunt of Shāh Muhammad Sultān whom Muhammadī Barlās put to death, mother of Ibrāhīm who was born 930H (1524), Sa'īd's third son and favourite child, of Muhsin, and of Mahmūd Yūsuf.

On her husband's death in 939H (July, 1533), she was banished by her stepson Rashīd, and went with her children to Kābul where she met Haidar Mīrzā and where she was under the protection of Kamīan.

Gul-badan mentions her in the guest-list, and places her name as present at the Mystic Feast (1531), but this can hardly be right. She could easily have been at the marriage festivities in 1537.

Tār Rash, E & R, 146, 875, 883, 467
Gul badan, 11a, 24b

CC Zainab-sultān Begam Mīān-shāhī

Gul-badan describes her as the paternal aunt or great-aunt ('ama) of Humāyūn. Bābar had no such sister, and no Zainab is mentioned by Gul-badan as a daughter of his grandfather Abū-sa'id. An Āq Begam,

however, is spoken of by her, and Zainab may be her personal name. Zainab had a daughter Ulugh Begam Gul badan, 24b

CCI Zainab-sultān Begam

There is a difficulty in identifying the begam of this name, whom Bābar mentions (Mems, 387) as coming to India. It will be seen by comparing the sources and then French and English interpretations

Mems, 387 'another, by name Zainab sultān Begam, the granddaughter of Bikeh Chichām'

P de C, II 855 'et la petite fille de Yenga Tchetcham, autrement dite Zeineb sultān Begam'

B M Or, 3714, Pers, p 482 *dīgar nabīra yanga chichām hr Zainab sultān Begam bāshad*

Bodleian, Elliot, 19, f 180a *dīgar nabīra bega chichām hr Zainab sultān Begam*

Ilminsky, Turkī text, 447 *yana, yanga chichām hr Zainab sultān Begam būlagħa'i nabīra si kīlib*

It seems safer to take Zainab as the name of Bābar's relation (*i.e.*, the *yanga* of his *chicha*) than as that of the granddaughter (*nabīa*)

It may be observed here that the best authorities quoted above, *i.e.*, Ilminsky, behind whom is Kehr, and Or, 3714, have *yanga* where Mī Eiskine and Elliot, 19, have *bega*. This exchange may occur in the case of other *begas* of this appendix. Until a good Turkī text more complete than that in the B M is found, this must be left an open question

If *Zainab* be taken as the name of the *yanga*, she may be identifiable with one of the other women already entered in the appendix, but for deciding this point more examples are necessary of Bābar's application of the word *yanga*.

Mems, 387

CCII Zobaida āghācha Jalāir

The marigold, Ar *zubaida*

Grand-daughter of Husain Shaikh Timur of the Shaibān Sultāns. According to the *Habibu-s-siyārī*, she was a *Jalāir*

She was an inferior wife of Sultān Husain Mīrzā and the mother of Āyisha Begam She predeceased her husband who died April, 1506

CCIII Zuhra Begī and Āghā Uzbeg

Ar *zuhra*, beauty, a yellow flower, the star Venus

An inferior wife of Sultān Mahmūd Mīrzā, mother of Makhdūma sultān Begam and of Sultān Ali Mīrzā

She was married during the lifetime of Mahmūd's father, and therefore before Rajab 873H (January, 1469), and was widowed Rabī II, 900H (January, 1495) In 905H (1499-1500) she entered into an intrigue with Shaibānī, a fellow-tribesman, of which the ultimate aim was dominance in Samārqand for her son Ali A part of her scheme and offer was her own remarriage with Shaibānī Babai stigmatizes her action as 'stupidity and folly,' and says, further, 'the wretched and weak woman, for the sake of getting herself a husband, gave the family and honour of her son to the winds Nor did Shaibānī Khān mind her a bit, or value her even so much as his other hand-maids, concubines, or women Sultān 'Ali Mīrzā was confounded at the condition in which he now found himself, and deeply regretted the step he had taken Several young cavaliers formed a plan for escaping with him, but he would not consent As the hour of fate was at hand, he could not shun it They put him to death in the meadow of Kulba From his overanxiety to preserve this mortal and transitory life, he left a name of infamy behind him, and, from following the suggestions of a woman, struck himself out of the list of those who have earned for themselves a glorious name It is impossible to write any more of the transactions of such a personage (? Zuhra), and impossible to listen any further to the recital of such base and dastardly proceedings'

APPENDIX B.

Mahdī Khwāja

Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad has included in his *Tabaqat-i-akbarī* a story which he heard from his father Muham-mad Muqīm *Hāfi*, and of which the purport is that Bābar's *Khalifa* (Nizāmu-d-dīn 'Alī Barlas) had at one time thought of placing a certain Mahdī Khwāja on the throne in succession to Bābar.

Two circumstances cast doubt on the story (1) It was customary in Bābar's family for a son to succeed his father, (2) Bābar left four sons, the youngest of whom, Hindal, was eleven years old.

Moreover, there were Timūrids both of the Bāyqūn and Mīrān-shāhī branches in India with Bābar whose claims to a Timūrid throne would be strongly enforced.

But Nizāmu-d-dīn Ahmad has left us the story in circumstantial detail and it cannot be passed over unnoticed, and this the less because Gul-badan Begam throws some light on the identity of the Mahdī concerned, and also because in an important particular, i.e., the relation of Mahdī to Bābar, I am able, through Mr Beveridge's study of the *Habibu sīyāḥ*, to give more accurate information than was at Mr Erskine's disposal.

The story was old when Nizāmu-d-dīn set it down and it is not necessary to accept all its details as exact. It is sufficient to consider its minimum contents which are, that in the royal household there had been a rumour of a plan of supersession of Bābar's sons by Mahdī Khwāja at the instance of Khalifa.

The question naturally arises, who was the man

concerning whom such intention could be attributed to the wise and experienced Khahsa?

Nizāmu d dīn calls Mahdi Bibar's *damād*, and Mr Erskine, amongst other translators, has rendered this by son-in law. It is unnecessary to consider why any Mahdi Khwāja known in history should have been preferred to those sons in law who were of Bibar's own blood, because Gulbadan calls Mahdi Bibar's *yazna*. For this word the dictionaries yield only the meaning of 'brother-in law' and 'husband of the king's sister'. Both these meanings are also attributed to *damād*. But the *Nabub* settles the verbal question by a statement that Mahdi Khwāja was the husband of Khān-zāda Begam, Bibar's full sister.

It is not improbable that he had another close link with the Emperor, namely that of relationship to Mīdrām Begam, but I am not yet able to assert this definitely.

Bibar never mentions Mahdi Khwāja's parentage. This is learned from Khwānd amir who states that he was the son of Musa Khwāja and grandson of Murtaza Khwāja. He was a Sayyid, and from the circumstances that his burial place was chosen as that of Sayyid Abū'l-ma'ālī *Termīzī*, it may be inferred that he belonged to the religious house of Termīz. If so, he had probably Timurid blood in his veins, since intermarriage between the families was frequent.

Bibar mentions a Khwāja Musa who is perhaps Mahdi's father, in 911H, 1508. He immediately afterwards names Khwāja Muhammad 'Alī, Maham Begam's brother, in suggestive sequence.

Babar's first surviving record of Mahdi is made in 925H (February, 1519) when 'Mir Muhammad Mahdi Khwāja' brings in a prisoner. It is in *civ* 929H (1517) that Khwānd amir speaks of the marriage of Mahdi and Khān-zāda, but this is probably a good deal after the fact, because Khan-zāda was returned to Bābar in 917H (1511).

Mahdī Khwāja, as Bābar invariably calls him after his first appearance, went to Hindūstān with Bābar and is frequently mentioned. It is significant of his high position and presumably not only by marriage but by birth, that on military duty he is always associated with men of royal blood, either Tīmūrid or Chaghataī. He is sometimes given precedence of them, and is never named last in a list of officers. Chīn-tīmūr Chaghataī, Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā Bāyqīd, Sultān Mīrzā Mīrān-shāhī, and 'Ādil Sultān are constantly associated with him. It seems clear that he was a great noble and ranked amongst the highest. Khīsī Khān calls him Sayyid Khwāja, and so does Khwāndamīr. Whether the 'Khwāja' indicates anything as to his mother's marriage I am not able to say.

Khāñi Khān (I 42) has a passage which may relate to him. *Sultān Mīrzā ua Mahdī Sultān binī a'māmīā* (of Bābar) *lī asū-i-ān juma'* būland khalās sakht. The date of the occurrence is c. 1511, the year in which another Mahdī, i.e., Uzbeq, was killed by Bābar. Mr. Erskine appears to think that the two men, named here as released, were Hamza and Mahdī Sultans Uzbeq, but the sources do not give the style of Mirza to either of these chiefs. They appear to have had marriage connections with Bābar in an earlier generation, and a son of Mahdī seems to have been 'Ādil Sultān (Mems, 363) who was father of 'Āqil Sultān Uzbeq (*Albar-nāma*, I 221).

A Mahdī Khwāja who was undoubtedly of Bābar's family, appears both in the *Tarīkh-i rāshīdī* and in Gulbadan Begam's *Humāyūn-nāma*. He is the son of 'Imān, and grandson of Sultān Ahmad Khān Chaghataī, Bābar's mother's brother. But his age precludes him out of the question, he was about ten in 1530, and the hero of Nizamu d-din's story strolled his beard, and was either a *dāmād* or a *yazna*. Mahdī

Chaghataī, moreover, reached India after Babar's death¹

The *Tabaqat* states that Mahdi Khwāja had long been connected with Khalifa, the latter was himself a sayyid

Nizāmu d dīn calls Mahdi a *jūwan* and Mr Irskine has accentuated all the faults and characteristics of youth in his version of the story. But Gul badan calls Hindil an uninjurious youth at thirty three, and there seems good ground to read often in *jūwan* the notion of vigour and strength rather than exclusively of fewness of years. In 1530 Mahdi had served Babur eleven known years

Like many other such small problems, that of the family connections of Mahdi Khwāja and the other men of his name may be solved by some chance passage in a less known author or by a closer consideration of the personages of the Memons

Mems 255, 303 305 307 338 340 342 344 M. 39 32
163, 370 371 401 426²

Mbar nūma s. n. Aqil Sultān and Mahdi

Khāfi Khān, Bib Ind ed. s. n.

Habib's sūfir Khwānd amir under date cir 923H

Cf. Index to this volume, s. n. Mahdi

¹ The rough estimate of Mahdi *Chaghataī*'s age is made as follows. Aman was married to Haidar Mirzā's cousin in 923H (1517). (*Tarīk* F and R 111 352). He had five sons by this wife (I.e. 111 and 101). Of these Masud is named as the eldest. The rest are Khizr (Gul badan's husband), Mahdi, Ismail daulat (Habiba's husband) and another. Khizr is inferentially the second son, but if Mahdi were the second he could hardly have been born before 926H (1520). This would make him about ten in 1530 but he may have been younger and the third son, as is indicated by the enumeration of Haidar Mirzā

² At p. 424 Mr Irskine has an entry of a Sayyid Mahdi who arrives from Guālīāt in July, 1529. That this is a mis-reading for Mīshhādi is shown by collation with other texts than his own

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بود و به افعال مکر و فربیت داده تکی شد و منع شد میرزا هدال را
کشت و اکثر چنایی ارسیب میرزا ناولد شد و اهل و عالِ مردم به سد
رفت و بی ناموس شد* دیگر محل عاله که عال و اطفال مردم من عد
تابِ سد و عداب (82b) مدارد و دیگرها بر حمّ حار و مال و اهل و
عال مایان هم تصدقی نکار مولیٰ حضرت* اس برادر پست— اس دشی
حضرت است* سخن مختصر که همه جمع شد به اتفاق محمد شد عرض
رسایید که — ۷۷ رحه‌گرِ ملک سرافگن ه* و حضرت پادشاه در حراب
فرمودد که اگرچه این سهار شایان حاطرشارِ من می‌کند اماً دلِ من
نمی‌شود* همه فریاد برآورده و گفته که آنچه عرض رسایید شد است
عین مصلحت است* آخر الامر حضرت فرمودد که اگر مصلحت و
رصاصی همه شایان درس است پس همه شایان جمع شود و محضی بوسید*
همه اریس و پسار امرایان جمع شد بوشه دادند بهماں مصراع را—
رحه‌گرِ ملک سرافگن ه* محضرت پادشاه هم ضرور شد*
در بواحی رهناس که رسیده سید محمد حکم کرد که هر دو چشیم
میرزا کامران را میل کشد* در ساعت رفت و میل کشید*
حضرت پادشاه بعد از میل کشید*

END OF THE MS.

* This line is quoted by Daulat Shah Cf Mr E G Browne's ed p 537

** The folio which follows in the MS (83a and 83b) has been conjecturally placed after 73b

مرا حوالی میر رای سعید شهید گری و قاعی کردند* و گلچهره یکم در حاده
قرا حاچ رفته بودند* و قی که ایشان نار آمدند گویا قیامت شد قائم وار
گری و عم سیار ایشان بیمار و حموی شدند*

ار بهادری میر را کامران طالم بی رحم میر را هدال شهید شدند* ار آن
رور نار دیگر شنیدم که در کار و نار میر را کامران رشدی شد ناشد ملک
رور رور نزل کرد و اسر و صابع شد و سوعی رو محاسی (۸۱) آورد که
دیگر دولت میر را کامران یار شد و کامرانی نکرد و گویا حیاتِ میر را کامران
ملک رو شائی جشم میر را کامران سر را هدال بود که ار همان شکست که
گرمحنه راست رفت در پیش سلم شاه پسر شیر حاچ* او یکهرار روپیه
داده و درین صحن سر را کامران عرص احوال بوده و کومک طلبید* سلم
شاه در حوابِ میر را ظاهر چیری نگفت اما در معنی گفته است که کسی
که برادر خود میر را هدال را نکشد به آن کومک چجوع نوان داد* ملک
هیچو کسی را نا بود کردن و معدوم ساختن بهراست* میر را کامران اس
کنگاش سليم حاچ را شید و مردم خود هم کنگاش نکرد و شی فرار را
بر خود قرار داده گرمحنه و مردم میر را خرم بداشند* اسها ماندند*
سلیم حاچ که خرسند اکثر مردم میر را در سده حاچ حکم کرده و میر را
کامران تا به بھیره و حوش آب رفه بود که در (۸۲) همان حدود آدم
گوهکه رصد و حلمه و مکر در قید آورده پیش حضرت پادشاه آورد*
عاقبت الامر حبیح حوالی و سلطانی و وصیع و شریف و صعیر و کسر
وسپاهی و رعیت و عیره که ار دستِ میر را کامران داعیها داشتند در آن
علس متغیر سک عرص حضرت پادشاه رسایدند که در پادشاهی و حکم
رسم برادری مطور بی ماند* اگر حاطرِ برادر میخواهد نزک پادشاهی
نکند و اگر پادشاهی میخواهد بر که برادری نکند و اس همان میر را کامران
است که ارسِ او در دشتِ قباق سرِ مبارک ایشان چه نوع رحم رسید

عیدام که کدام طالی سی رحمی آن حوان کم آزاررا به بع طلم
بیهان کرده * کاشکی بدل و دیده من ما سعادت یار پسیم (۸۰b) با
محصر حواحه حان آن بع سی دربع مرسید * آه صد آه افسوس و دربع
هرار دربع *

۵۷ ای درعا ای دربع آعام شد بیهان در ریر مع —
عرض که میررا هدال در خدمت و دلسروری حصرف حان ساری
کرد * میر مانا دوست میر را برداشته در دولت حانه میر را آورد و بیچ
کن اطیار نکرد و ساولان آورده در درواه نشاند و گفت — هر که باید
و رسید نگوند که رحیم میر را کاری است و حکیم حصرف است که هیچکس
به درآند *

و عرضی حصرف پادشاه آمد و رسید که میر را هدال رحمی شده
اند * حصرف پادشاه ای طلیدد که رفه میر را به سم * مرععد المی
گفته که رحیم اشان کارست و رومنی حصرف ماس سست * حصرف
فیضان اند و هر چند که خود را حاط کرد سواسد و بیطافی هودد *
حساهی حاگر حصرف حواحه حان بود * حصرف حصرف حواحه حان را
طلسم فرمودد که میر را هدال را در حساهی بُرده امامت بگاه دارد *
حان مهار شر را گرفه بعیاد و عیان و حرع و مرع کرده بی رفت (۸۱a)
که اس حررا حصرف پادشاه شدید محصر حواحه گفته فرشادید که
صر ماد کرد — دل من ارسو پش روی سورد اما ار ملاحظه آن عین حومه
ظالم بیطافی بی کم و حال آنکه او بردیکست عبر ار صر چاره بیست *
صد افسوس و سیچاره گی و درد بُرده در حساهی امامت گداشد *

میر را کامران ظالم برادر کش بیگانه بروزی رحم اگر آن ش بی آمد
اس ملا ار آسیان مارل بی شد * حصرف پادشاه بکال حطبا بوشید * بخورد
رسیدن این حطبا بحواران گوانتای کال عالم سرا ماسد شد و در و دیوار

هدال در ملارمت حضرت را می شدید* وقتی که به نگیها دولت و سعادت رفته برول احلال فرمودید (۷۹۱) و حاسوسان هر رما هر ساعت حر می آوردید که میررا کامران قرار داده است امشب شخون ناید ریخت* میررا هدال آمده عرص حضرت رسایدید و کیگایش دادید که حضرت درس بلدى ماشد و برادرم حلال الدس محمد اکر پادشاه در ملارمت هرا ناشد ما درس بلدى مردم باحتیاط جوکی بدهد — و خود مردم خود را طلبین بهر کدام علیحده علیحده دلداری و دلاسا کرده که — همه آن خدمتها یکطرف و خدمت امشب یکطرف اشا الله آچه حسب المدعای شایاست بهموم روش سرافار حواهید شد* همراه حاصحا شایده و برای خود حیه حامه و طافی و دلجه طلبیدید* تو شکی سچه را برداشته بود که شخصی عطسه رد* تو شکی سچه را ساعی نگاه داشت* چون معطل شد کسی را برای تأکید فرستادید* چون تأکید نام آوردید خود پرسیدید که چرا معطل کردی؟ تو شکی عرص کرد که سچه را برداشته بودم که شخصی عطسه رد — سار آن سچه را مار مایدم وارس (۸۰۸) سب معطل شد* فرمودید که عاط کردی نکو اشا الله شهادت مارک ماشد — و مار گفتند — یاران هه گواه ماشد که ار جمع چیرهای حرام و ارعالهای ماشایسته توبه کردم* حاضران فاحمه خواهید و مارک ماد گسد* فرمودید — سچه حامه حیه بیار* بوشین در پیش حدق رفتند و سپاهیان مردانگی و نسلی دادید* درس اشا طبقی میر را هدال آوار میر را که شیدید فریاد براورد که مرا به ششیر گرفت* میر را بحرد شیدن ار اسپ فرور آمده و بد و گفتند — یاران اس ار مردانگی دور است که طبقی مارا در ته ششیر بگیرید و ما کومک نکیم* خود در حدق فرود آمدید و سپاهیان هیچ کدام ار اسپ فرود به آمدید و میر را دو مار ار حدق برآمدید و حمله ها کردید* در همان تردد شهد شدید*

وعاسه سلطان سکم و دولت بخت آغاچه گرمه سحاب قدهار
مرسد که اریکه حمار مردم پادشاهی گرفه آورده (۱۸۶) و میرا کامران
به اعماق هراه شد در ماری اعماق من بوده *

و حضرت پادشاه کاه کاهی مدنس نایع ماریع مرسد * در آن سال
میر مسیح سان مدلدر ماریع در سکیپار مرسد و میرا هداخ در ملارست
بودند و از حرمان پیکه یکم و حمید نایم یکم و ماه چوچک سکم و عربه
اکثر حرمان هراه بودند * و سرین من سعادت نار در آن رورها سیار بود
ساز آن من سواسم رفت * روری در بوایی سکها حضرت پادشاه در شکار
بودند و میرا هداخ در ملارست بود * سارشکار حوب بود * طری که
میرا شکار رفه بودند حضرت هم آن طرف آمدند * میرا شکار ساری
کردند * میرا مسیح حکمران حمله شکار حود را بحضرت بشکش کردند
که در بوره حکمران رسم حس اس که حوردان به میرگان حود چس
مشی آید * عرض هم شکارهای حود را بشکشی حضرت کرده * بعد
از آن به حاطی میرا رسید که حصه حواهاران هم ناید (۱۸۷) نار حواهاران
کله بکند * ناره دیگر شکار نکم که برای حواهاران حصه سرم * میرا نار
شکار بعد شد اند * نکاره شکار کرده برگه می آمدند که میرا کامران
کسی را بعن کرده بودند آن کس سر راه را گرفه و میرا ارس عافل
سری رد و آن سر به کعب مارک اشان رسید - از ملاحظه آنکه مادا
حواهاران من ما حرمان من شنست سطاغی بکند * فی الحال بوشه فریادید
که - ۵۰ رسید بود مالائی ولی محبر گذشت * شماں حاطرها حود را
جمع دارید که من بخت و عاص هستم * عرض هوا که گرم شد حضرت
برگشته تکامل آمدند و مذب تکمال گذشت رحم سر پیرشد *

بعد از تکمال حر آمد که میرا کامران نار جمعت کرده اسعداد
حیگ دارد * حضرت سر امام حیگ بوده مسوحه سگیا شدند و میرا

سلیمان و (۷۷۶) میررا ابراهیم آمن حضرت را ملارمت کردند و حضرت
نکال رفتند و میررا بایان در دولتخواهی نکدل و نکجهه شد در ملارمت
بودند که میررا کامران موحه شدند* حضرت پادشاه هرم بیکم گفته
فرستادند که کلین را نگوئید که برو دی رو د لشکر و مردم بدخنان را سامان
بوده فرستید و سگم در آن دیک رور آن دیک فرصتی چد هرار کس را اسب و براق
دادند و اهمام و سامان بوده و بهمراه حود ناکول آورده وار آنخا لشکر را
پیش فرستادند — حود مراجعت بودند و لشکر مذکور آمن بحضرت پادشاه
ملحق شد* در چارکاران یا فرامغ میررا کامران حنگ شد لشکر حضرت
عال آمن و فتح کردند و میررا کامران را شکست دادند* میررا کامران
گر بجهه به تگها و لعات رفت*

و آق سلطان که داماد میررا کامران بود گفته ماشد که شما دائم بحضرت
های بیون پادشاه مخالفت پیش می آئید — چه معنی دارد؟ ماس بیست — یا
اطاعت و فرمان برداری حضرت نکید ما مرا (۷۸۴) رحصت مدهید که
مردم ار مالان می داسد* میررا کامران به آق سلطان درشی کرده گفت که
کار من بخای رسن که تو من بصیخت کنی* آق سلطان هم از روی درشتی
گفت اگر من در پیش شما ناشم حلال من حرام ماشد* و آق سلطان همان
رمان حُدا شد در نکهر رفت و نکوح حود همراه شد بود که فرمای میررا
کامران شاه حسین میررا رسید که آق سلطان مار ربحاین رفعه است* اگر
در آنخا آمن ماشد او را نگذراید که به ری حود همراه شود و نکوح اورا ازو
حدا سارید و او را نگوئید که هر حامیخواهی برو* سعَد رسیدر فرمان
شاه حسین میررا حییه بیکم را ار تصرف آق سلطان حدسا ساخته و سلطان را
نکه معطیه رحصت کرده*

در همان حنگ چارکاران فراچه حان و آنکه مردم نائی میررا کامران
کشیدند*

مهر ارس (۷۶^{هـ}) یافسد که حودرا بگوشة نکشد* ابوالقاسم میرزا پسر حودرا پاش میرزا عسکری فرستادند و عایشه سلطان بیگم دختر حودرا میرزا کامران هراه گرفه سحاب طالغان مرفت و حام کوچ میرزا کامران بود* ماو گفتد که شما و دختر شما ارعیب یا ناید* در هر حاکم فرار حواهم گرفت شمارا حواهم طلید* اما ما آن ریان شما در حوت و اندرا آب رفته نشید* حام مذکور با حامان اوریک قرامت داشت* در میان آن اوریکان از حوشار آن بوده ه اوریک معلوم کرده و فهمایند که اگر عرص او پچه است مال و داه و علام دارم سرد و صغارا گدارید که برادر راده عاشه سلطان حام اگر فردا شود ارشا الله حواهد رحمد* صد مکر و حیله و صد حیرانی و سی سامانی از سد اوریک حلacz شد در حوت و اندرا آب رسین در آنها می بودند*

ومرا کامران ارشکست بلح اطلاع یافه که حضرت در باره من چاچه ملعت بودند پستند وار کولا (۷۷^{هـ}) برآمد بهر طرف می گشت* در اس اثنا حضرت ارکامل برآمده طرف دشت فیچاق که رسیدند عافل در حائی پشت فرود آمدند بودند که میرزا کامران ارحای ملدی یکنار مُسلخ و مکمل شد آمدن بر سر دشمن حضرت رختند* چون حوت آلوی چین بود نک کور ناطن گردن شکسه طالم سعکار مدحت نایکار محضرت پادشاه رحم انداحت و سر مارک ایشان رسین و نام پیشانی و چشمهای مارک ایشان بحوض آلوه شد بود* طبعی که در حنگ معولان سر مارک حضرت فردوس مکانی نار پادشاه معلوی رحم رده و طاقی و دستار برین شد اما سر مارک ایشان محروم شد—حضرت هایون پادشاه دائم تعجب های بودند و می گفتند که عجیب سر است که طاقی و دستار برین شود و سر رحم رسد* عرص سر مارک ایشان هم همان طور شد* حضرت بعد ارشکست دشت فیچاق به بدحشان رفتند و میرزا هدال و میرزا

حاج حیر میرا هدال را محضرت آورد که بصحت وسلامت در قدرور
رسیدند * این حیر را که محضرت شدند سیار حوشحال شدند *

و میرا سلیمان را بحای حود که قلعه طبر ناشد رخصت کردند و حود
نکامل آمدند * میرا کامران که در کولاپ بودند ترحال ییگه نام عوری
عیار مکاره بود میرا کامران راه بوده که به حرم سگم اطهوار عاشقی
نکبید که درس مصلحتی باست * میرا کامران هم نگفته آن ناقص
العقل حطبی و روپاکی بدست سگم آغا بحمرم ییگم فرستادند * این عورت
حط و روپاکرا مرده پیش حرم سگم بیاد و ملارمت میرا کامران و اشیاقی
سار اطهوار کرد * حرم ییگم گفت که حالا اس حط و روپاکرا نگاه
دارید هرگاه میرایان از میرون بیاند اس حط و روپاکرا بیارند * ییگ
آغا در بین گره و دراری و ملایت که میرا کامران اس حط و روپاک
شما فرستاده و مدبیاست که شما عاشق است و شما ارس نامت می مروی
می کید * حرم ییگم (۶۶) بیاد اعراض و شدت تمام بوده می المحال میرا
سلیمان و میرا ابراهیم را طلبید گفت که میرا کامران نا مردی های
شایان را داشته است که می همچو حطبی بوثنه واقع که من لانه اس بودم
که مرا چین بوسد * میرا کامران برادر کلان بواشد و من بحای کلی
اشان ناشم * مرا ارس نامت حطبی فرستد * نگردد و اس ریکه را پاره پاره
سارید نا بر دیگران عرت شود و هیچکس بر اهل و عمال کسی بچشم
نمیحال فاسد نکد و ار رن آدمی راده حمه ماسد که همچو چرهای مالا یق
پیارد و ار من و پیسر من شرستد * و می المحال ییگی آغا بیسی دولت حون
گرفه را پاره کردند و میرا سلیمان و میرا ابراهیم ارس حجه میرا کامران
م شدند بلکه دشمن شدند و بحدست محضرت بوشند که قصد مخالفت دارد
و مخالفت ارس صریحتری ناشد که در جین نوحة سلح در ملارمت هر راه
برفته * بعد از آن میرا کامران در کولاپ از نوهم هراسیک هیچ علاجی

سر محمد حان در سلح بود و در همان رور اول مردم پیر محمد حان
 سرآمد حنگ صب کرد * لشکر یادشاهی عالی آمد و مردم پیر محمد
 حان شکست حورده در شیر در آمد * صاح آن پیر محمد حان فرار
 داده بود که حمای رور است — من بی سوام حنگ کرد — پیراس که
 سرآمد بروم — که امرایان یادشاهی بکی عرص رسید که بورت چرکن شد
 است — اگر ارس مرسل بر حواسه دشت مرسل نماید مساب است *
 حضرت حکم فرموده چن نکد * بعید که دست به بار و مارحه بهادد
 دیگر مردم ملأوف شدند و چند کس مادی کرد مردم کسی سی بیامد *
 حون حواست آلسین حین و دی سی حیث عدم و عرص و سی واسطه مردم
 راهی شدند * به اوریک حر رسید که لشکر یادشاهی کوچ کرد * اوریک
 در عصب شد و ساوان یادشاهی هر حسید که سعی کردند به ریه پاس به
 آمد (۶۶) و مع کردن شد * مردم راهی شدند * حضرت مذکو اسادید *
 آخر دیدند که کس نماید * صرور شد حضرت هم روان شدند و مردا
 عسکری و مردان خدال را حر سود که لشکر یادشاهی برم حورده است *
 اسیا سوار شد شد آمد — دیدند که در لشکرگاه کسی نماید و اوریک
 در بین سرآمدین است * اسیا بدر طرف قندور راهی شد * حضرت اندک
 راهی آمد بودند که اسادید و گند که مرادران نا حال به آمد * من
 چطور بس روم * به بعضی امرا و عن که در ملارت بودند فرمودند که
 کسی ناشد که از مردان حرب سارد * بیچنکس حواب نداد و برقت *
 بعد از آن از قندور از مردم مردا حر آمد — عرص داشت کرده اند که
 شد شد که شکست واقع شد — نداست که نکدام طرف رفده * اس
 خط که بدستی حضرت افاد سیار بی طافقی کردند * حضرت حواحه حان
 گهه اگر حکم شود من حر بیارم * یادشاه فرمودند — رحمت ناد — اشا
 الله ناشد که مردا قندور رفه ناشد * بعد از (۶۷) دو رور حضرت حواحه

وحرگاهی که بهیان حرگاه حمین ناویگم آمد شپتند* بعد از عمار پیشین تا اسپل را آوردن میان دو عمار شد* درین طور وقت تشریف بردهند* در دامنِ کوه هر حار رواح برگ برآورده بود در آن درها گشت وسیر میکردند که شام شد* در همان حاچادر و حرگاه بریا کرده آمد شپتند* آن شب در آنها بیر عیش و عشرت هم گدرایدیم و مایان هه در ملارست آن قلهٔ حقیقی بودیم* صاحب وقت تمار بیرون تشریف بردهند— وار بیرون هه بیگه بیگ و حمین ناویگم و ماه چوچک بیگ و می و بهمه بیگان علجهٔ حطَّ بوشند که نگاههٔ حود فایل شد عذرخواهی بوشید* اشا الله در فرصه یا در استالیف حیر باد کرده متوجه لشکر خواه شد و اگر به (74a) سُخدا (؟ سخدا) سپردم* آخر هه عذرخواهی بوشته بخدمت اقدس اشرف فرستادند* عاقبت الامر حضرت و هه بیگان سوار شد از لعنان هه بهزادی آمدیم و ش هر کس عمرلی حود رفت و صاحب آن طعام بوش حان کردند و عمار پیشین سوار شد فرعصه آمدند*

حمین ناویگم صحنهٔ مایان هه گوپید فرستادند— و بلک رور پیشتر ک بی دولت سخت در فرصه آمد بود و حوردنی وافر و شیر و حعرات و شیره و شربت و عین طیار کرده بودند* آن شب بعیش گدرایدیم صاحب بر مالی فرصه ثرترا آن حوتست* آنرا (fault) استالیف رفه و سه رور دیگر در استالیف بودند و بعد از آن کوچ کرده در سنهٔ ۹۵۸ هشتم متوجه بلح شدند*

وارکوبیل که گذشتند میرا کامران و میرا سلیمان و میرا عسکری فرمابهای طلب فرستادند که ما متوجه حنگ اوریلک شدیم وقتی تکههی و مرادر بست می باید که سرعت نام برسید* میرا سلیمان و میرا عسکری آمد (74b) حضرت ملحن شدند* کوچ هه کوچ متوجه شد هه بلح رسیدند*

مهتاب بود* حرف و حکایات کرده * (M.S 83a) میرفند و حاش
 آعاجه و طرف گوسن و سرو سهی و شام آغا آهسه آهسته هن** می گشد*
 تا که بلغان رسیدند جمعه و حرگا و بارگاه پادشاهی و چادرهای ییگان
 هور یامنه بود* در آنوقت چادرِ مهر آمر آمده بود* حضرت و همه
 مایان و حمینه نابو ییگ بیر در همان چادر در ملارمت حضرت ما دو پیر
 و سه گهری شب نشپس بودم * آخر در چادر مذکور در ملارمت آن قله
 حقیقی حواب کردیم — و صاحب میحو استند که رفه در کوه رواح را به بیسد*
 چون اسپاين ییگان در دیه بودند ما آمدی اسپا و قت سرگدشت* حکم
 کردند که در یرون اسب هر کس که ناشد بیارد* اسان را که آوردند
 فرمودند سوار شوید*

سگه ییگ و ماه جوچک سگ هور سروپا می بوشیدند* من محصرت
 عرض کردم که اگر حکم شود من رفه آنها را بیارم * فرمودند — رو دنر
 رو و بیار* من به سگ و ماه جوچک ییگ و عربه حرمای دیگر گم —
 سده سر حضرت شوم — چه ملا اسطار میدهد* اسها را بمحصلی عام
 می آوردم (M.S 83b) که حضرت ار روبروی ما شریف آوردند و
 فرمودند — کلیدن حالا حود وقت سیرگدشت ما به آغا رسیدن هوا
 گرم حواهد شد — اشا الله تعالی عار پشین را ادا کرده حرام رفت*

* (کرد) It seems to me that in binding the M.S. in India, fol 83 has been misplaced and that it should follow at this point where its contents are *a propos*. The catchwords are wanting on it and on 74a.

This emendation has been made only since the preparation of my article on Gulbadan Begam (Calcutta Review, April 1898) and contradicts and modifies some statements of that article.

The account of the journey to Laghmān (fol 83) is appropriate here and is out of place in the story of Kīmrān's blinding and of Hūmīvūn's subsequent movements.

It is possible that another page also is missing and that the quiet singing was not on the road.

* (تعس) *Ar nags*, an air with its variations (Pavet de Courteille)

مردم عیف شوقی و حوشحالی روی داده بود — چراکه اکثر امرايان و بوکران هم حوش و برادر یكديگر بودند ار مر حُدای صاحبِ حود آها هم ار یكديگر حُدَا ملک نشئه حون یكديگر بودند * الحال هه یكحا حوشحالی تمام یكگدار بودند *

وار بدهشان که آمدند يکم سال در کامل بودند * بعد ار آن عمر حرم بخ بودند و در باع دلکشا مسل فرمودند و دولت حاشه حضرت را در پاياب ماع مذكور رو برو بريا کردند و يكگان در حويلي کل يك چون بردیك بود آها فرود آمدند * حضرت نار عرص رسابدند که ايا رواح چنور می برآمن ناشد * حضرت فرمودند — چون که لشکر میروم براة کوه دام روم تا شایان برآمد رواح را به بسید * بار دیگری بود که حضرت سوار سُن در باع دلکشا آمدند و حويلي کل يك که يكگان در آن بودند بردیك بود و آها سرکوب بود *

حضرت آمن اسايدن * يكگان هه ديدند و برحواستند (۷۸۱) و کورش کردند — و بعهد کورش کردن يكگان حضرت مدست ماريک حود اشهارت کردند که بیائند * بحر السا ماما و اعماي آعاقجه پيشترک ميرسد — و در دامن کوه باع دلکشا حوي بوده است * اعماي آعاقجه ارجوي مذكور تواست گدست و اعماي آعاقجه اراسپ افتاد * ار برای آن ساعی معطل کردند * آخر الامر بعد ار ساعتی علامرت اشرف اقدس مشرف گشيم و ماه چوچك سگ ما داسته اپشن اندک بلدرفت * ار برای آن حضرت سيار اعراض کردند — باع مذكور در بلدى بود و هور دنوايرها نکرده بودند * درین اثنا در چهره ماريک حضرت کلعي پدید آمد * فرمودند که شایان برويد ومن ابيون حورده و اس کلمت را سكين داده حواهم آمد * مایان بفرموده حضرت اندک راهي رفته بوديم که حضرت شريف آوردند * در واقع کلعت المکله بر طرف شد و حوشحال و فرج ناك آمدند * شب

وقاشه دلبر را هر را سلمان داده و مدهار را هر را هدال و طالغار را هر را
عسکری عالب دیده *

روزی در کنیم - راه دوچه و دند و احیانع مرادران شد - حرب
هاون نادشاه د مر را آشیان و مر را عسکری و مر را هدال و مر را
سلمان *

حد وره که در ازمه - مررت نادشاه شده اند و دیده که آدمه
ای سرد که دست شده به تکما معلم خورم * حرب نادشاه
دست نشده و راکمان دست نشده سال سب مر را عسکری و
مر را هدال - برآمد - اگر کان بوده * به عنین آنها و خلاصی هر دو
مرادران سب برآمد - نادده و بعد از دست شدن مر را سلمان
پس سودر - رگی سی گرده - مر را عسکری و مر را هدال سار در ش
مش آمد - ۱۱۰۰ که این حه روایی گردد * او ز ملان حه
حددار که در - بور - حرب - دشنه دست شوم - اما حون عالب
در موده و سکم و دیده بواسم مر - کم گرد - این اندیشه سی حیان حه
معنی دارد * آخر را عسکری و را هدال برون بر آمد دست شده
آن سند و مر را سلمان سار شرمند شد - و عه در لک دسار حان
علماع خوردده و بحدیث درس این این خدر را ناده دیده که این آرزو دارم که
خود شده اند که در زور کلند ستم کنده بوده که این آرزو دارم که
هن مرادران را تکما ، سه وار صالح شده شده ام هیان سه محاطرم
مرید اشنا اته معالی جمع مارا حن سخاوه معالی در امای خود دارد *
هداروش ایس که در حصر من این سه که ریان مسلمانی ظلم حه حاجی
آنکه ریان مرادران را می خاند نائم - اشنا اته معالی بیمه شامان خداوی
عالی هیں و می کرام کد که موافق و مکبیه ناشد (۲۷) و در مساهه

حوشیالی تمام شد در یک‌ماه صلاح شد—ماه چوچک بیک و حاش آغا و
حرمان که در لشکر هراز حضرت آمده بودند در را فیم*
و وقتی که حضرت به بدحشان رسید ماه چوچک بیک دختر را پیدا کرد*
در همان شصت حضرت در حواب دیدند که محزالسا مامام و دولت تحت
هر دو از در در آمدند و چیری آورده و پیش من گذاشتند* هر چند
تفکر کردند فرمودند که تغییر آن حه ناشد* آخر در حاطر رسایدند که
چون دخترش است از مام هردو یکی ساوار دیگری تحت طرق اختصار
تحت سا بیک مام بخواهد*

ماه چوچک بیک چهار دختر و دو پسر را پیدا کرد—تحت سا بیک و سیمه
نایب بیک و امه نایب (۷۱۱) بیک و محمد حکم میرزا و فرج فال میرزا—
وقتی که حضرت متوجه هدو سان شدند ماه چوچک سکم حامله بودند*
در کامل پسر را پیدا کرد—فرج فال میرزا نام بخواهد* و بعد از چند گاه از
حاش آغا پسر بولد شد—ابراهیم سلطان میرزا نام بخواهد* و مدت
یکسیم سال کامل دولت و سعادت در کامل بعنی و عشرت
گذرانید*

و میرزا کامران که از کامل فرار بودند بمحاب بدحشان رسید و در طالقان
می بودند—و حضرت در او رته باع می بودند* صاح که سیار بر راست
حرشد که اکثر امرای میرزا کامران که در ملار مت حضرت بودند گریخته
رفتند—ار حمله قراچه حان و مصاحب حان و مادر حان و نایوس و اکثر
ما مرادان شد گریخته به بدحشان رفتند و میرزا کامران ملحق شدند*
حضرت در ساعت بیک متوجه بدحشان شدند و میرزا کامران را در طالقان
محاصر کردند*

بعد از چند گاه میرزا کامران اطاعت و فرمان برداری قبول کرده و آمن
حضرت را (۷۲۱) ملار مت کرده* کولاپرا حضرت میرزا کامران دادند

ششم آب لیمۇن و هفت بوقور پارچه و جد بىه دوحە فرستادد و
بوشند کە ار حەفە ايشل بى نوام ملۇھ رور آورد کە مادا دىشماڭ اشان
سوغى دېگەر بىش آلدَ*

و در آن امام حەوان سلطان يىڭىم دو ساله شە درەمان قىل قوت شد و
بى بوشند کە اگر ملۇھ رور آورم رەمانى مىررا مەممە اکبررا پەھان حواهد كرد*

عرض دائىم در مالاي حصار مىرىم ارمەنار شام باصىح حاصل ماش و عوغا
داشتند* شىنى كە مىررا كامران مىكىرىيد ئار شام گەشت مىكە حس شىد
كە (706) هېج عوغاى طاهر شد— و كوبىلى بود كە ار آتىخا مىرىم پامان سالا
بى برآمدىد* در آن حس مىرىم شهر آرام و سكىن نايمە بودىد كە بىكىار
آوارەر حسە و حوش و ررە برآمند كە بەمدىگەر حر كەدم كە علو مى ئايد*

در پىش حلوجاھ قرس ھار كىن اسايە ناشىد* مالان ھە در وھ بودم
سکار بى حر برآمدىد و پىر قراچە حان بەادر حان آمن حر كەدد
كە مىررا فرار بودە و حواجاھ معطر را ار راھ دیوار رسماں انداحىھ بىر
آوردىد*

ومىرىم مالان ويىگان و عنە كە در بىرون بودىد و درى كە مالاي مالان
برآورده بودىد وا كەددىد* يىڭىم يىڭىم مالاھە كەددىد كە بروم مجاھەياتى خود*

من گەنم كە رەمانى صىركىيد— ار راھ كۆچە نايد رفت و شايد كە ار پىش
حصار بىم كىي آيد— كە درىن صەن عىر باطىر آمد و گەنت كە حصار
مۇرمۇدە اند كە نام سام ار آن حاپىها بى سرآيد* رەمانى گەشىد بود كە
حصارت آمدىد و بە دلدار يىڭىم و مۇن دريائىد عدد ار آن بى سگە يىڭىم و سەھىد
ما بى يىڭىم درياقتىد و فرمۇدە كە رودارىن (718) حاھە سرائىد كە دوستان را
حدا ارىن تورجاھ مگاه دارد و بىصىپ دىشماڭ شود* ساطر فرمۇدە كە
در بىك طرف تو ماش و در بىك طرف بىردى سگ حان ناشد ويىگان را
مگەدرابىد* آخر ھە آمدىد و آن شە در ملارمىت حصارت بودم— وار

مدست مردم پادشاهی اسیر شدند و دستگیر گشتد و آن حضرت عصی را کشد و عصی را در سد کردند* ار آن میان حوکی حال که ارامرا یا میرزا کامران بود او بدر مدت افداد*

حضرت پادشاه و میرزا هدال در ملار مت حضرت بخ و فیروزی شادیا به بواحتند و بکوکه و دیده در عقایین در آمدند— وار برای حود حبیمه و حرگاه و نارگاه برپا کردند* و میرزا هدال را مورجال پل مستان بعین عودید و ارامرا میان هرحا هرحا مورجال بعین کردند*

ما مدت هفت ماه معاصر داشتند* ار قصاید روری (۶۹) میرزا کامران ار حوبی در دالان میرفید که شخصی ار عقایین سعک انداحت و ایشان دوینه حودرا در کاره گرفید و آکر پادشاه را گفتند که در رویرو بُرده بگاه دارید* آخر مردم عرص اقدس اشرف رسایدید که میرزا محمد آکررا در رویرو بگاه داشه اند* حضرت فرمودید که سعک به انداردید* بعد ارس مردم پادشاهی در بالای حصار سعک می انداحتند وار شهر کامل مردم میرزا کامران عقایین در لشکر حضرت سعک می انداحتند— و مردم پادشاهی میرزا عسکری را در برادر رویرو استاده می کردند و سپاهیان پادشاهی شوحی می سعیدند و مردم میرزا کامران هم ار قلعه برآمده حنگ می کردند وار حاسین مردم کُشه می گشند* آکثر مردم حضرت عالی می آمدند— دیگر ار قلعه دلیری برآمدند— و حضرت ار ملاحظه عیال و اطفال و بیگان و مردم و حرمان و جماعت دیگر توب و صرب حنگ می انداحند— و محابها (۷۰) ابراهیم (۷۰) سعک می کردند*

چون عماصره دور درار احتماند حواحد دوست حاوید مداریچه را در پیش حضرت فرسادید که ار برای حدا میرزا کامران هرچه التهاب می کند قول فرماید و سدهای حدارا ار محبت حلاص نکند* حضرت ارسون ار برای ایشان به گوسرد و هفت شش گلاب و بک

عسکری و میرا هدال برادران من اند اشان بید برادر من اند که اس
و دب مدد است * من در حواب ایشان گفتم که حصر حواحه حال سواد
بدارد که سخن مرا شناسد و من هرگز خود به بوشی ام * در پیرون ار ریان
فرمیداش می بوسد — هرچه مخاطر شما برسد بوسید * آخر الامر مهدی
سلطان را و شرعی را طلب حال فرسانید و من در اوائل گشید بودم حال
که برادران بیش میرا کامران می ناشد — مادا بودم حال آن کی
و بیش اشان (۶۹۱) روی و به برادران خود ملحق شوی — ریهار الف
ربیار که از حضرت حدای را حال کی * ماری شکر الحمد الله سوعی که
نه بودم حال هم تماور به بود — و حضرت پادشاه که شیدید که مهدی
سلطان و شرعی را میرا کامران تماوردن حصر حواحه حال فرسانید حضرت
برفسر یکن مدر میرا حاجی را طلب حصر حواحه حال فرسانید *
در آن اوان حال در حاگر خود بود * گشید فرسانید — ریهار الف
ربیار که هر را کامران ملحق شود — در ملامت ما سائید * آخر حصر
حواحه حال سعد شدند اس حر و بیعام فرحا نام موحده درگاه طک
مارداه است و در عیایین آمن ملامت کرد *

آخر حضرت از مارکه گذشت درس ایا شر افعک مدر شیرونه را
میرا کامران برس داده و رس کرده عام لشکر خود هراه کرده پیش
فرسانید که روه حگ کد * مایل از مالا مددید که او عاره رده از
پس مایدی مسکنست و مایل میگئیم که حدا نصیب نکد که (۶۹۲)
بورقه حک کی و گره میکردم *

آخر چون در برادر ده اعماق که رسد و فراولان روبرو که شدید
سیند روبرو شدند فراولان حضرت پادشاه فراولان میرا کامران را برداشت و
اکثر دسکن کرده پیش حضرت آوردید * حضرت حکم کردید بعلان
که آنها را باره ناره کردند و اکثر مردم میرا کامران که بمحگ رفه بودند

حرم گذاشته بودند* میرزا کامران پرسیدند که بر مالای حصار چیست؟
 یکی گفته ناشد که بوکار است— و این حرر را بوکار شیخ در همان ساعت
 لاسی ریاه بوشیخ برآمده بود که مردم میرزا کامران در بامی حصار را
 گرفند و پیش میرزا کامران بردند* ایشان فرمودند که در سد نکید (67b)
 بعد از مردم میرزا کامران مالای حصار رفند و اشیاء و اسas بی شمار
 اهل حرم مالان و ناراح کرده در سرکار میرزا کامران صط و ربط نمودند
 و یگان کلان را در حادثه میرزا عسکری شاند* و در آن حادثه را از حشت
 وحک و ماس^{*} مسدود ساختند— و از مالای چهار دیواری حادثه مذکور
 سگان را آب و طعام می دادند* و در حادثه که میرزا یادگار باصری بودند
 حواحه معظم را ستاد— و در محلی که حرمای حضرت و یگان دیگر بودند
 در آن محل اهل و عیال حودرا فرمودند— و اهل و عیال و اطفال سپاهی
 که گریخته در ملارمت حضرت رفعه بودند به آها سیار بد پیش آمدند—
 و حادثه هر کدام آنها را ناراح و مالان کردند— و اهل و عیال هر کدام را
 یکی سپردند* چون استماع نمودند که میرزا کامران از تکه رآمده چیز کارها
 کردند حضرت نار ار قلعه طفر و اندراب دولت و ساعدت متوجه کامل
 شدند و قلعه طفر میرزا سلیمان عاخت فرمودند*

چون حضرت سواحی کامل رسیدند میرزا (68a) کامران حضرت والکرا
 و مرا از حادثه طلیبد و حضرت والکرا حکم کردند که در حادثه قوریکی
 ناشد— و مرا گفتند که اس هم حادثه شاست— همین حادثه ناشید* من
 گفتم که برای چه اسما ناشم— در حادثه که والدۀ من حواهد بود من بیرآخا
 حواهم بود* ایشان در حوار من گفتند که پس شما محصر حواحه حل
 حلی بوسید که آمن نه ملحق شود و حاطر جم دارید— سوعی که میرزا

* Armenian, cakes of dung. The word is current in Turki. The translation should read "He closed the door of that house" &c

مر و مرکن حوب کدر استد و هر دهان حلعه های فاحر و سرویاهای
و افر عالیه مرود است^{*} و مردم رعن و علما و صلحاء و عزرا و عرب
و وحشی و حسر و کسر در امس و رفای رور بعش و شت بعش
سدادر استد^{*}

و بعد از آن مسوچه فلجه طبر شد و در قلعه مذکور سررا سلمان
بود^{*} برای حادث برآمد^{*} چون متعال شد معاومت سواستد کرد
و مرارها بر حود فرار داد^{*} و حضرت نادشاه دولت و سعادت در
قلعه خانه در آمد^{*} و در کم نادشاه حود شریف داشت^{*}
در آن زمان ادک شوش در وحدت مارک انسان عالی شد و صاحب آن
رور حسب نامد و میوش حیدر که آمد و فعال سد برادر معن حیر را
مکمل نمود اند که برو و مردم کل را سل و دلداری داده نوعی
دلوی اسما میکن که مرده سوره و ملو^{۳۸} رسیده بود بلای ولی محترم
گشت^{*}

بعد از روی مسیل سد^(۱۷) مکمل نکرده شرک مکمال رس
بود و از کامل حیر دروغ در نکرده سررا که مرا رست سررا کامران در
 ساعت از نکر املاک ترکه مسوچه کامل مشود و در وقتی که راهد سکرا
آن کشد و مسوچه کامل شد^{*}

و در سحری بود که مردم کامل تناول بود و در وارهارا بدستور سان
کشاده و مردم آن کش و علف کش و عزره ب درآمد و می برآمد که
هراه همو مردم عام در قلعه درآمد و شنید علی عائی را که در حمام
بوده بی الحال کشد و در مدرسه ملا عد الحائی مرور آمد^{*}
وقتی که حضرت سحاب فلجه طبر شریف می بردند بیکر را مردیر

در سریعی که آمد راهد نیکرا — *in rapid fire* — *I drop*, to read here, to mix with other sources

وأکثر اوقات معرکه و مخلص بود و شها ما صاحب می‌شپستند و ساریدها و گوسدها دائم در بوارش بودند* و أکثر ساط شاط ناری میکردند — ار آن حمله — دوارده کس بودند بهر کس بیست ورق بیست ورق و بیست بیست شاهرجی میدادند و کسی که پای میداد هیں بیست شاهرجی پای میداد که بعث مثقالی ناشد و اگری برد هر حد که ناری میکردند ریاده می‌بردند*

و مردم که در حکم چوشه و کوه و در آن قطراها در توده حضرت کشته و حسته گشته بودند بیوها و بیان و اهل و عیال آن جماعت را وطبعه و رانه و آب و رمیں و قلها عامت می فرمودند و مردم سپاهی و رعیت و عیورا سیار اسودگی و فراعت در اینام دولت حضرت روی داد* همشه فراعت میگذرایدند و محل دراری حضرت اکثر بناخه جبرست قیام و اقدام (۶۶۲) می‌نمودند*

بعد از چند رور سعدهار برای طلب حمیت ما بویگم کسان فرستادند* بعد از آمدن حمیت ما بویگم حلال الدس محمد آکر پادشاه را حسنه سور کردند و اساب طوی ستر را طیار میکردند* و بعد از بورور هفت ده رورهایی میکردند ولایتهای سر می‌پرسیدند و فرس سی چهل دخترا حکم می‌شد که لایتهای سر پوشند و بر کوهها برآید — و در يك بورور بر کوه هفت دادران برآمدند* اکثر در حصور و عیش و فراعت میگذرایدند و وقی که محمد آکر پادشاه بع ساله شدید در شهر کامل حنته سور کردند و در همان دیوان حاهم کلان طوئی ستر را دادند — و تمام نارار را آئیں سند و میررا هدال و میررا نادگار ناصر و سلطانیان و امرایان مجهة آش سدی حاهاء حوب و مرعوب راست کرده بودند و در باع پیگه پیگم سکان و صعنوا حاهای عجیب و عرب راست کرده بودند — و ساجق را هیه میرایان و امرایان در (۶۶۳) همان باع دیوان حاهم آوردند* سیار طوئی

کامران کرچه آمد ساوه حضرت نادشاه مشرف شدند و باوس که
لک امرای مان سررا کامران و دوی سر صحابه حود کرچه هدم یعنی
حضرت آمدن مشرف است سررا کامران کی وسیا مادرد و حون
ددند که در آد و لحن من کس ناند سری باوس که امرای نامی اشان
بید مردیک بود در و دوار سرالدرا اماده ویران کرد و آنها
نه از شش ساعت وروردی و بورخانه دریج یافته اند اس دواره خرار سوار
حود طارق دده رسد حون برگشته سپاه راهه ناشی درین
کول آمن آدم و دوست کوکه و حونگی حل را فربند که حیه نکم
دسری کارن سررا و سرادر سپاه سررا سری سررا کامران و سرمه نکم
سرادر راه حسر حل ومه سه ۱۰ حواشر حرم سکه و سرمه افور
سکه مادر حاجی سلم ومه کوکه که ای همراه اسلام احراب حماعه
سررا کامران نیزه است و سررا اموجه سه و نکتر شدند

در ومه سه حسر حل که در سریر نکسر و انفس در آنها که رفت
حسه سدر می سپس نکیع سه سرد و میود نکیب نکرو سه شدند
حضرت ناده حم کریه بر شش دواره ده سه نیزی شش گله بود
که در نادی حسر میون خانی بذوق و سعادت و اهل برویل نیزیدند
و مردم سررا کامران که عده مشرف شدند هم دره بواحه در
حسم حضرت در کل در مده و رور دور دهم هم مذکور حضرت
والله دلدار سلم و دیم سلم و اس حسر حضرت را مازمت کردند حون
مذت سنه سال بود که اردوب مادر مسحیه و مشهور بودم و از محظی
دوری و مشتی مشهوری حلاص شد دولت و سلطان آن وی عهد شرب
شدم و سخن دل عزده را حضرت ۱۰۱ او حتم رمد دهرا بوری
مله حاصل گشت و ارجح شهانی شهریل سعادت شکر سعی آوردند

پادشاه به آن روش صلح را قبول نکردند و حضرت پادشاه سرم حان را برای
بلجی گری فرستاده بودند* میررا کامران سعی بیرم حان را قبول نکردند و
الحال پادشاه قدهار را به بیرم حان سرده متوجه کامل شد اند* بیان شد ما
و شما شرط و عهد ما نکدیگر کرده صحیله حودرا محضرت پادشاه رسایم*
میررا یادگار ناصر قول کرد* اس هر دو شرط و عهد کردند* میررا
هدال گفتند که شما فرار را بر حود قرار مدهید* میررا کامران که
می شود الله مرا حواهد گفت (64a) که یادگار ناصر گریخته شما رفه دلاسا
کرده بیارید* ما آمدی من شما آهسته آهسته بروید* بعد از آنی که من آمد
رسیدم هر راه شده سرعت نام حوده را علامت حضرت پادشاه حواهم
رساید* همین را قرار داده میررا یادگار ناصر گریخت* حر میررا کامران
رفت* میررا کامران فی الحال گشته تکامل آمدند و میررا هدال را
طلسند گفتند که شما بروید و میررا یادگار ناصر را دلاسا کرده بیارید*
ایشان فی الحال سوار شد سرعت نام آمد هر راه شدند* دیگر از آخا یلغار
کرده در بیچ شش رور آمد علامت حضرت مشرف شدند و محضرت عرص
کردند که راه نکه حمار ماد متوجه شد*

^{۹۵۱} در سنه بیصد و بیهاد ویلت هم شهر رمصان المارک در نکه حمار
برول احلال فرمودند* همان رور میررا کامران حر رسید* میررا کامران را
اصراسی عسی دست داد* در ساعت چادر برآورده در پیش گذرگاه
فرور آمدند و محضرت (64b) پادشاه در ماردم شهر رمصان در
حلگه نیپه** برول احلال فرمودند و میررا کامران هم آمد در مرار
فرور آمدند بقصد حگ* درس انا هه امرایان و سپاهیان میررا

* حمار، (چار)

** (بیمه) Perhaps the Tibâh of Bâbar (Mems. I. & E 139 & 136n)
which Mr. Erskine says is 3 ms of Al-serîl and to the left of the
road from that place to Kabul. Abu'l farz (A N I 243) gives Julga-
i-dûrî as the meeting place

پیش پادشاه قدهار بروید و میان مالیان صلح نکید* و بعد از آمدن حضرت
حاجزاده بیگم آکر پادشاه را میرزا کامران سپردند و میرزا کامران نکوچ
حود حام سپردند و سرعت قام قدهار آمدند*

و حضرت پادشاه که قدهار آمدند چهل رور میرزا کامران و میرزا
عسکری در قدهار قل داشد و بین حار را به بلچی گری پیش میرزا
کامران فرساند (۶۳۸) میرزا عسکری عاهر وربون شنگاه حودرا
در حواست موده بیرون آمن حضرت پادشاه ملارت کرد— و حرب
پادشاه قدهار را گرفته فتح بودند و ه پسر شاه دادند* بعد از جد رور
پسر شاه بیمار شد مُرد* حضرت پادشاه قدهار را بعد از آمدن بین حار
بین حار سپردند*

و حمیده نابو بیگم را بیرون در قدهار گداشته معاف میرزا کامران
متوجه شدند*

و آکه حام حاجزاده سکم که هر راه بودند در معایم قتلخک که رسیدند ما
سه رور تپ کردند* هر جد که اطیا علاج کردند معبد سد* رور
جهارم در سنه بھصه و بھا و بیک بر جمی حق پسوند* در همان مرل
قیلخک دفن کردند* بعد ارسه ماه آورده در مقبره حضرت پادشاه نامام
گاه داشد*

و میرزا کامران در آن چند سال که در کالی بودند هرگز تاخت رفه
بودند* سیکار آمدن حضرت پادشاه شین در آن وقت (۶۳۹) اشار را
هوس تاخت شد بھا و هر راه تاخت رفه بودند*

و درین اسا میرزا هندال که گوشه دروستی را احسان کرده بودند
مراحت حضرت پادشاه را ار عراق و حراسان و فتح قدهار شین فرصت را
عیبت داشه میرزا یادگار ناصر را طلبیک گفتند که پادشاه قدهار را
آمن فتح کردند و میرزا کامران حاجزاده بیگم را برای صلح فرستاده بودند*

مید استم * نار هر دو پادشاه تکل شد و ما یکدیگر حاطرا صاف کردند *
و آن هر دو حرام حور مردود هر (fault) پادشاه شدند * و آن هر دورا
پادشاه به شاه سپردند *

آن لعل هارا بهر نوعی وقئی که داشت و تواست گرفت و آن هارا
فرمود که در قید نگاه دارد — و حضرت پادشاه ما در عراق بودند
حوشمالی گدرایدند و شاه ابوعاصح طلاقی می‌سخوردند و هر رور تخته و هدهه
عجیب و عرس (62^a) محضرت پادشاه می‌فرستادند * آخر الامر پسر
حودرا ما حامل و سلطامان و امرایان تکومک هر راه حضرت پادشاه کرده
ما بران (؟ق) حاطرخواه و حرگاه و نارگاه و ختر و طاق و شامیانهای پرکار
و گلیم‌های ارشمی و رلچهای کلاسون دوری از هر ناب اساب حاججه
ماید و شاد وار تو شکحه و حرمه حامه و از هر کار حامه و باور حیله
و رکاحه پادشاهها را طمار کرده ساعتی بیک آن دو پادشاه عالی‌مدار
از یکدیگر حضرت شدند و از آنها حضرت پادشاه متوجه قدھار شدند *
و حضرت پادشاه در آن وقت نگاه آن هر دو بی و فارا از شاه طلبی
و نخشنی هر راه گرفته متوجه قدھار شدند *

سررا عسکری که شید که حضرت پادشاه از حراس مراجعت نموده
بحاب قدھار می‌آید حلال الدس محمد آنکه پادشاه را تکلیل پیش میرزا
کامران فرستادند * میرزا کامران، آنکه حام که (62^b) حاوارده بیکم عمه
ما اند سردید — و در آن وقت حلال الدس محمد آنکه پادشاه دویم
ساله بودند که آنکه حام گرفته نگاه داشت و سیار دوست میداشت
و دست و پای ایشان را می‌بوسیدند و می‌گفشد که بعسه گویا دست و پای
برادرِ من پادشاه است و شاهست عام دارد *

بعد از تحقیق شدی آمدیں حضرت پادشاه قدھار میرزا کامران محضرت
حاوارده بیکم راری و عمر سیار و مالعه بی شمار می‌کردند که شما مدول

و ماری بزی ندارد — مک طافی دارد که وقتِ حواحه گاهی ربر سرِ حود و گاهی در سهلِ حود نگاه میدارد * حواحه معظم فهید و در دل حرم و بین کرد که آن لعلها در پشتِ حواحه عاری هست و در همان طافی نگاه داشته است * پشتِ حضرت آمد و عرص کرد که من نشانِ لعایهارا در طافی حواحه عاری نافه ام * یک روشنی میخواهم ارو آنرا ریام * اگر (۶۱۸) حواحه عاری پشتِ حضرت آمن از من استعانته کد حضرت من حزی نگوید * حضرت شیخ سَم فرمودید * حواحه معظم از آن نارِ حواحه عاری هرل و مطابه و مراق (۷۳) میکرد * حواحه عاری آمن عرصِ حضرت پادشاه رساد که من مرد عرب واسم و رسمی دارم و در ولایتِ یگاهه حواحه معظیم حورد سال این حه معنی دارد که من هرل و مطابه و مراق (۷۴) نکد و من اهانت رساد * حضرت پادشاه فرمودید که ما کی ندارد — حورد سال است ماری محاطرش رسیده ناشد وار دلگیری ها بی ادبی کرده ناشد * شما جزی محاطر رساید که او حورد سال است *

رورِ دیگرِ حواحه عاری آمن در دیواحاته نشسته بود که حواحه معظم عافل ساحه مک مار طافی را ارسیش ربود و لعل بی مدل از طافی برآورده پشتِ حضرت پادشاه و حمینه نابو یکم آورد و بهاد * حضرت سَم کردند و حمینه نابو سَم حوتختال شدید و حواحه معظم شماش و رحمت (۶۱۹) ناد گفشد * حواحه عاری و روش کوکه از افعال های حود شرمسار شد هر دو پشت شاه رفه و سجانی معنی عرصِ شاه رسایدند ناخدی جزی ها گفتند که حاطر شاه مکدر شد * حضرت نادشاه معلوم کردند که احلاص و اعتقاد شاه به دستور ساقی نیست * فی الحال از لعل و حواهر هر چه داشند شاه فرساید * شاه نادشاه گفت که گناه حواحه عاری و روش کوکه است که مارا ارتقا سگاهه کرده بودند ولا ما شمارا یگانه

عدمت داشته است و بع لعل را در دین و حواحه عاری سکجه شد
و حواحه عاری سپرده و بعور ایام صرف میخواستند صرف نمایند*
حین ما بو سگ که سر خود را شسته آمدند حضرت پادشاه آن طومار را به
سیگم دادند* سیگم از هوا دست فلچال در بافتند که آن طومار سک
طاهر میشود* سیگم به پادشاه گفتند* حضرت فرمودند این حده معنی
دارد (60b) عمر ما و شاناثی اطلاع ندارد حده شد ناشد و که گرفته ناشد*
جیان شدند* سگ برادری خود حواحه معظم را گفتد که همیتو امری واقع
شده—اگر درین طور وقت برادری را سما آرید و شخص این سیک روشنی
که شور شود نکند گویا مرا از حالت می برآرید* والا نارین ام از روئی
پادشاه محل حواهم بود*

حواحه معظم گفت—بچیری مساطر من می رسد که مرا نا وجود
نفری حضرت پادشاه قوب آن سست که نابوی لاعر بواهم حرید بخلاف
حواحه عاری و روشن کوکه که هر کدام اسها برای خودها اسپان پوچاق
حرین اند و هور ری اسپان را نداده اند* اس حرید اسها نی یک امیدواری
نمیست* سگ گفتد—ای برادر وقت برادری است—الله بلعنص اس
معامله ناید کرد* حواحه معظم گفت—ماه چیجم شما نکسی نگوئند—اسنا
الله بعالی امیدوارم که حق (60b) بعهدار برسد* ار آنها برآمده بحاجة هون
سوداگران پرسین که اس اسپان را بچید فروجید؟ در بهای اسپان شما
در کی وعنه کرده اند و ادای اس ررهارا بچه روشن حاطری شان کرده
اند؟ سوداگران گفتد که ما اس هر دو شخص وعده لعلها کرده اند
واسپان برد اند* حواحه معظم ار آنها پیش بع خواحه عاری آمد و گفت
که بچه سروپای و باری و پری خواحه عاری در کجا می شد؟ و در چه
حایگاه میدارد* شم خواحه عاری حواب داد که خواحه ما بچه

و عمه شاه و حواهاری شاه و حرم‌های شاه و کوچ حمام و سلطان‌مال و امرالل
شہ فرس هرار رن حاصل بودند همہ بر رست و رس آرآسده*

در آن دور شاهزاده سلطان رسد از (۱۹۷۸) حمده نابو یکم که
در هدوسان همیتو خن و طلاق هم مرسد* سکم در حواب کنید که
حراسان را دو دامک نبود و هدوسان را حیار دامک - هرگاه که در
دو دامک سه رسد در حیار دامک خود بطری اولی بیم حواند رسد*
شاه ساقلم که حواهار شاه ناشد بر در حواب عهود معنوی سخی حمده نابو
سهم نسب که عیه از شنایع است که این سخن را گنبد دو دامک
که از حیار داشت کما ظاهر است که بیرون حوسیر هم مرسده ناشد*
ولام رور معرکه و شلس را حوب لدراندید* در وقت طعام هه ربانی
امرا اساده حدست مسکردید* و حرمانی شاه سیش شاهزاده سلطان آش
نی ناشدید* دلار از هر حسن بارحای رددوری و عروجندان که ناشد
وشاند به حمده نابو سلم میعنای کرده* شاه خود پس رفته نامادر حسن
در حانه نادشاه بوده* بعد از آن شد که همین نابو یکم محاجه خود آمدید
از سیش نادشاه (۱۹۱۶) بر حواته محاجه خود رفت* ما این حد رعات
و ساخته حیی خوب مسکرد*

در آن اثرا روشن کوکه ما و خود و فاداری و خدمات سانده در آن ملک
سکاهه و بر محاطره نی و فائی کرد که حد ناره لعل قصی که در طومارهای
حضرت نادشاه می بود که حضرت خود نا حمده نابو سکم مداشتند و
ثالثرا مان اطلاع سود* اگر نادشاه سیائی شریف می بردید آن طومار را
نه حمده نابو سکم می سردید* روری سکم سر شیش رسد* آن طومار را در
مشئه رو ماک سخن بر ملای بلگ ک نادشاهی بخادید* روشن کوکه فرص را

لستقال فرساد * این‌ها هه آمَد دریا صد و هه اعشار واکرام عام حضرت را آوردید و چون بر دلک رسیدید برادران شاه شاه حضرت فرسادید * شاه بیر حود سوار شد باستعمال حضرت آمد * ما یکدیگر در بافتند و آشائی (۵۸۴) و لک حجهٔ آن دو نادشاه عالی مقام ماسد دو معز در یک پوستِ نادام قرار یافت و اتحاد و اخلاص بحدی رسیک بود که ایام چندی که حضرت آنها تشریف داشتند اکثر اوقات شاه در مرل حضرت می‌آمدید و دروری که شاه می‌آمدید حضرت می‌رفتند *

در حراسان که بودید هر باغ و بوستان که بود عمارات عالی که سلطان حسین میرزا ساکرده بودید و عمارات عالی ساق و عبره همراه سیر می‌بودید و با در عراق بودید هشت مرته شکار رفه بودید و هرگاه که شکار میرفید هر مریه حضرت را هم تکلیف می‌کردید — و حمین نابو ییگم در کجاوه یا در محافه از دور نباشه می‌کردید — و شاهزاده سلطان حواهر شاه بر اسب سوار شد عقبِ شاه می‌ایساد * حضرت گفه بودید که در شکار عقبِ شاه صعبیه بر اسب سوار بود — حلوش را مرد محاسن سعید گرفته ایستاده بود * مردم چین می‌گشد که شاهزاده سلطان حواهر شاه است * قصه محصر شاه حضرت سیار مهربانی و مروت پیش می‌آمد و تکلیف کرده مهربانی و عمواری مادرانه و حواهرانه می‌بود *

روری شاهزاده سلطان حمین نابو ییگم را تکلیف مهربانی بوده بود * شاه محواهر حود گفت که حون مهربانی می‌کید در سرون شهر معزکه سارید * ارشهر دوکروه دور پیشتر ک جبهه و حرگاه و بارگاه در صحنه میدان حوب برپا کردید * چتر و طاق بیر برپا کردید * در حراسان و در آن حدود سراپرده می‌گرفت و در عقب می‌گرفت و حضرت پادشاه سراپرده مدور می‌گرفت مثل هدوایه * مردم شاه حرگاه و بارگاه چتر و طاق برپا کرده در گردانگرد حع‌های ریگاریگ مدور گرفته بودید و نمای حوشاوندان تا

ریهار که محواهید گداشت — گرفه پیش ما بیارید — مال و اسان علی
شیا دارد و پادشاه را بعد هار بر ساید * اول که من حضرت را ندیده بودم
جیالِ فاسد داشتم * الحال که حضرت را مادرمت کردم حارِ من و حامدانِ
من (۵۷۰) پیش شش وریدان دارم همه صدقه سرِ حضرت ملک صدقه بکارِ
موئی حضرت * حضرت هر کجا که می‌حواهید شریف فرماید پاه حدا مررا
عسکری مرزا هرچه حواهد نکد * آخر ملک پاره لعل و مروارید و چرهاي
دیگر به آن لوح عایت فرمودد و صاحب کوچ کده بمحابِ قلعه ناما حاجی
شریف فرمودد *

بعد از دور ر رسیدد * آن قلعه داخلِ ولایت گرم سیر است و در کارِ
دریا واقع شد است و جمعی ارسادات در آنها می‌مانتد * آمد حضرت را
مادرمت کردند و میرانی سحا آوردند * صاح او حواجه علاول الدس
محمد از میر را عسکری گربجنه آمد و قطار استر و اسپ و شامیا به وعده که
داشت آورده پشکش حضرت کرد * دیگر بی دعده شدند *

رور دیگر حاجی محمد حان کوکی ناسی چهل سوار آمد و قطار اسر
پشکش نمود * آخر از نامواعی برادران و ما هم پای امرا لا علاج شد
مصلحت (۵۷۱) چنان دیدند که توکل حضرت مسب الاساب کرده عمر
حرم حراسان ناند کرد * و بعد از قطع مارل و طئی مراحل سواحی حراسان
رسیدند * ناب هلمد که رسیدند شاه طهماسب از اساعان اس حر در
تغیر و تغیر فرو ماند که همانون نادشاه از گردش ملک عدّار که رفار
ما سار کار به این حدود رسیدند و حضرت واحد الوحد ناچهارما
رساید *

جمع اهالی و موالی واشراف و اکابر و وصیع و شرف و کیر و صعراء
ماستعمالِ حضرت پادشاه فرستادند * هه اینها نا آب هلمد پیشوار آمدند
و بهرام میرزا والغاس میرزا و سام میرزا که برادران شاه ناشد — هه را

بود که راه سود که ملای کوه روید و اس دعده برداشده که مادا مررا
عسکری بی انصاف ارعف رسد* و آخر راه را یافه بهر روش ملای کوه
رسد و عام شد در میانِ برف بودند* در آن وقت هیرم هم هم بر سید که
آش کشد و برای حوردن هم چیری سود* گرسگی تعایت سگ کرد*
مردم بی طاقی شدند (۵۰) حضرت فرمودند که بلک اسپ نکشید* حالا
اسپرا که کشند دیگر بی که آش بخشد* در دلجه گوشت بخند و کاب
کرد و چهار طرف آش کردند و بست مارک حود کاب کرده بوش
کردند* بر میانِ مارک حود می فرمودند که سر من از رمه بر هم سرد شد
بود* ناری حون صحیح شد کوه دیگر را شان دادند که در آن کوه امدادی
هست و حماعه بلوجان در آنها می باشد در آنها می باید رفت* راهی
شدند* در دو رور بد احنا رسیدند* حامه حدی دیدند* در آن حابها
چند بلوج وحشی که عارت که ارعول ییمان آن مردم اند در دامن کوه
نشپته بودند* هر راه حضرت قرس سی کس بودند* بلوجان که دیدند هم
جمع شده آمدند* حضرت در حرگاه مدولت نشپته بودند که از دور
در یافتد که حضرت نشپته اند ما یکدیگر می گشند که اگر ما این هارا
گرفته پیش بیر را عسکری سرم الله بر ای اس هارا عا (۵۱) می دهد ملکه
اعمامت ریادتی هم حواهد داد* حس علی اسک آغا ری بلوحی داشت*
او ریانِ بلوحی میداشت* او معلوم کرد که اس عولهای سیمان جمال
فاسد دارند— و صاحب جمال کوچ داشتند* بلوجان گشند که بلوحی که
سردار ای است اسحا حاضر بست* و قی که او بیاند کوچ نکید* حون
وقت هم ییگاه شد بود نام شد لمحیاط نام بودند* پاره ارشب گذشته
بود که آن بلوح سردار آمد حضرت را ملارمت کرد و گفت که فرمای
بیر را کامران و بیر را عسکری عا آمد است* در آن بوشه اند که شین شد
که پادشاه در حابهای شما تشریف دارد— اگر در آنها باشد ریهار هرار

نگوشه پریايد * گروه حواه و اورا سرده در ساعت الله دوست و اما
حولکرا بدرور قلعه برد و ابوع درشتی کرده * ایها سوگد حور دید
که مارا از آمدن اس حر بست و اس (۵۳۸) پیش من سق حوان است و
حواحه عاری حجه ما داشت و پیش کامران میرزا بود — اس سب کاست
بوشه است * شمود قرار داد که کیپک را با جمعی همراه پیش شاه حسین
فرستد * مر الله دوست و اما حوحوك عام ش پیش محمود بودند و
ملائمه کرده اورا در حواست بوده از سد حلاص کردند و سیصد امار
وصد بھی میر الله دوست برای حضرت فرساد و عرصه از ترش به بوشت
که ماده بست کسی افید — اما رای گنه فرستاد که اگر عرصه داشت
مررا عسکری ما امرا آمد ماشد رهن کامل بست و اگر به مصلحت در
رهن کامل سست که حضرت نادشاه را حواهد دید و حضرت کس کم
دارد آخر ما جه روی دهد * کیپک آمد عرص رساید *

حضرت متحیر و متغیر شد که چه ناید کرد و نکنا نادرفت * کگاش
کردند * بردی محمد حان و سیرم حان کگاش دادند (۱۴۱) که عمر ار
شمایل و شال مسان که سرحدِ قدھار است بسای دیگر عمر حرم کردن
مکن سست — چرا که در آن حدود افعان سیار اند بسای حود حواهم
کشد و امرا و ملارمای مررا عسکری بیرون گریمیه پیش ما حواهد آمد *

آخر حسین قرار ناید که در این حواله حواهد و کوح نکوح متوجه
قدھار شدند * چون بردیک شال مسان رسیدند و در موضع رلی نام
موسعی فرور آمدند و چون برف و باران ناری بود و هوا بعایت حلك
بود و قرارداد چس بود که ارس مبل شال مستان حواهم رفت * وقتی
عازم عصر بود که حوائی اوریک بر مابوی قله رهوار کیپک (?) رسید و عره
رد که حضرت سوار شوید که در راه بسی عرص حواهم کرد که وقتی سگ
است والحال وقتی سس گفن پیش *

سوار بودند و آنچه نتنه ناقی ماند بود برای مار بعین فرمودند* و هر که
 سوار می شد بخرد سوار شدن سوار را بر میں مردید (۵۳۶) و راه حگل
 میگردید و از شتران باز راه هر کدام که مار مسکر دید بخرد شدید اوازِ سُیم
 اسپ حسه حسه مار را بر میں انداده خود بمحکل در آمد مردید.
 و بر هر کدام شتر که مار را محکم سسه می شد هر چند می حست مار بی افاد
 بع مار راه حگل پیش گرفته میگریخت* بدین نوع محااسب قدهار می رسد
 ما قرب دوست شتر گریخه ناشد و چون بر دلک سیوی رسیده محمود
 ساریان ناشی ملارم شاه حسین میر را در سیوی بود— قلعه را مصوط کرده
 مخصوص شد* حضرت در شش کروهی سوی فرور آمدید* درین اثنا هر
 آمد که میر الله دوست و ماما حوحوک ارکل دو رور است که سوی آمد
 اند و سنت شاه حسین میر را میروید* سروما و اسپان پوچاق و مسُوه سار
 میر را کامران برای شاه حسین میر را فرساده و دحتِ اورا برای خود طلب
 بوده اند* خود حضرت معاویه عاری فرمودید که چون در مائده بود
 والله دوست نست پدر و فریدی (۵۳۷) است کنانی بوشه فرس که
 میر را کامل بچه طریق نا پیش می آند و اگر ما نداشما روم چون سلوک
 نکند* و حضرت نادشاه حواحه کیپلک را فرمودید که محااسب سوی رفته
 به مس الله دوست نگو که اگر آمد مارا به سد^{*} حوت^{*} حواحه
 کیپلک مذکور محااسب سوی روان شد* حضرت فرمودید که ما آمدیم بو
 ما کوچ بخواهیم کرد* او چون بر دلک سوی رسید بود که محمود ساریان
 ناش گرفته برسید که بچه کار آمدی؟ او گفت بجهه اسپ و شر
 خردید* گفت دست در نعل اندارد و نای اورا سالد که مادا به الله
 دوست و ماما حوحوک فرمان اسالت آوردہ ناشد*
 چون شخص کردید کاست ار نعل او برآمد* فرست یافت که کاسرا

* سد Misread in translating as سد (سد)

وقد هار را هر را عسکری (۵۲a) دادند و عربین را وعد کردند هیرزا هدال * حالا که عربین آمدند لمعانات و نگیهار را هم را هدال دادند * اس طور و عدهای دروغ * هر را هدال سدهشان رفته در حوت و اندراپ نشستند * هر را کامران دلدار بیکم گفتند که شما رفعه سارید * حضرت دلدار بیکم که رفند هر را حواب دادند که من خود را از دعده سیای گری گدران ام و حوت هم گوشه است * شسسه ام * بیکم گند م اگر عرصی درویشی و گوشه شبی ناشد هم کامل گوشه است ما اهل و عیال و فریدان یکجا ناشید — بهتر است * آخر بیکم هر را برور آوردند و در کامل مدت ها بوضع درویشی می بودند *

در اینجا هر را شاه حسین پیش حضرت پادشاه کس فرستاد که لانی دولت آست که ار اینجا کوچ کرده بمحاب قعده هار بروند — بهتر است * حضرت راضی شدم و حواب فرستادند که در اردوی ما اسب و شتر کم ماند است — شما اسب و شتر ما بدید ما ما بقدر هار بروم * شاه حسین هر را قول (۵۲b) کرد و گفت که هرگاه شما ار آب گذرد هرار شتر آن روی آب هست — همون را شما حواهم فرساد *

آخر (?اکثر) سخنان که در راه تکه و سد ار حواهه کپیک حوشی حواهه عاری مذکور بود بغل ار بوشة حواهه کپیک مذکور است * آخر حضرت به اهل و عیال لشکر و عیوه برکشتها سوار شدند * ما سه رور بخر را طی کردند * ارس بحد و لامی او گذشته بواسی نام موصی بود آنها فرور آمدند و سلطان قلی نام ساریان ناشی را فرستادند ما شتران را بیارد * سلطان قلی مذکور رفته هرار شتر آورد * حضرت هه شتران را به امرایان و سپاهی و عیوه مردم لشکر دادند و قسمت فرمودند * آن شتران سوی بودند که گویا هفت پشت باشکه همان پشت آن شتران مذکور شهر و ادم و مار را بدن بودند * چون در لشکر تحفظ البرس بود اکثر مردم شتر

بردیک شماش است — درس طور وقت که بر ما و شمایل است
در میان حودها ماعاق ناشید بهر است و کنانه ها که من میرزا کامران
بوشته ام اگر قول کند و عمل آرد هرچه حاطر او حواهد مام هان
بوع می کنم *

بعد از رسیدن حضرت ییگن قندهار بعد از چهار رور میرزا کامران هم
رسیدند و هر رور مبالغه ها می کردند که حطه سام من بخواهد * میرزا
هدال می گفتد که بعرا دادن حطه چه معنی دارد؟ حضرت فردوس
مکانی در حیاتِ حود پادشاهی را به همان پادشاه داده اند و ولی عهد
حود کردایین اند و مایان هه قول کرده و حطه سام اشان ما اس مدت
حواهد ام — الحال بعرا دادن حطه صوره ندارد * میرزا کامران حضرت
دلدار سگ حطی بوشند که ما ارکال شمارا ماد کرده آدم عحب است
که یک رمان آمن مارا مددید — (۱۵) چاچه والده میرزا هدال اند
نهمن طور والده ما اند * آخر الامر دلدار سگ مددین اشان آمدید *
میرزا کامران گفت احوال شمارا می گذارم ما میرزا هدال را طلید *
دلدار ییگن گفتند که حابراده سگ ولی تعیت شما اند و کلان و برگ هه
شمایل اند * حقیقتِ حطه را ارایشان پرسد * آخر هه آکه گفت * حضرت
حابراده ییگن حواب دادند — اگر ارمن می پرسید طریقی که حضرت فردوس
مکانی قرار داده اند و پادشاهی حود را به همان پادشاه داده اند و شماش
هه حطه را نا حال سام اشان حواند اید — الحال هم کلای حود داسته
فرمان بردار ایشان ناشید * عرص تا چهار ماه میرزا کامران قندهار را قل
کرده و مبالغه حطه می بودند * آخر قرار دادند — حوب — الحال
پادشاه دور اند — حطه را سام من بخواهد — هرگاه پادشاه ساند سام
ایشان حواهد حواند * چون قل دور و درار کشید بود و مردم سگ
آمن آمن بودند صرور شد حطه را حواند *

بادگار و میررا پاسن محمد و محمد ولی و بدم کوکه و روش کوکه و حدیگ
ایشک آغاچی * و جمی دیگر در ملارمت حضرت بودند که حر آمد که
بیرم حان ارجاسب گرات می آید و پرگه حاچکه رسید است * حضرت
حوال شدند و کنگره ایشک آغاچی را سمعی حکم کردند که ناستمال
بیرم حان روید *

درین اثنا شاه حسین شید که بیرم حان می آید * چند کس را فرستاده
که بیرم حان را نگردید * عامل در حائی فرور (۵۰۶) آمد بود که آمد
ربختند * حدیگ ایشک آغا کشته شد و بیرم حان با چندی حلacz شد
در ملارمت حضرت آمد مشرف شد *

درین اثنا عرصه داشتهای قراجه حان آمد حضرت پادشاه (۷) و میررا
هدال که مدیست که در بواحی تکه شسته اید * درین مدت از
شاه حسین میررا اثر دولتی طاهر شد بلکه بد پیش آمد * دیگر
عامت الهی کار آسان حواهد شد اگر پادشاه بدولت و سعادت ساد
بهز و عین مصلحت است و اگر حضرت بیاسد شما الله بیائید * چون
حضرت توقف کرده بودند و میررا هدال (۸) به استمال برآمد و قدهار را
بپیشکش میررا هدال کرده بود *

میررا عسکری در عریں بودند * میررا کامران عرصه داشت کردند که
راجه حان قدهار را میررا هدال داد — فکرِ قدهار را ناد کرد * میررا
کامران در صد اس شدید که قدهار را از میررا هدال نگیرید *

درین صحن حضرت اس حرها شدہ پیش عمه خود حاراده
بیگم آمد ساعه سار (۵۱۴) بودند که مرا سرافار کرده نفدهار
بروید و میررا هدال را و میررا کامران را بصیحت کید که اوریک و برکان

و شیخ علی یک که مرد مرد اه بود حصر ب اورا هر راه مطری یک
برگان معاشر حاجکا برگه کلان بود فرساده بودند * میرزا شاه حسن
جمع را بر سر او فرساد (۱۸۱۱) در میان هر دو لشکر حکم عظم شد *
آخر الامر مطری سک میرم شده گریخته و شیخ علی یک مجمع کشید
شده صاع داشد *

و در میان حالت یک ولوش سک برادر شاه حان حلاج گفت
و گوی شد * آخر جمعی رعایت لوش یک گردید * این سب حالت یک
ما چونی گریخته بیش میرزا شاه حسن رف * حضرت پادشاه والده اورا
که سلطان مام داشت سدی حامه فرمودند * این واسطه گلرگ سکم
رسخت بودند * آخر گاه اورا مخدود و هر راه گلرگ یکم رحص مگ
معطیه گردید * بعد از حد گاه لوش سک هم گریخت و حصر ب اورا
بدعای بد ناد گردید که ما برای حاطر او حالت یک را درشی کردم *
ما وحد آن از داره حلال بکی برآمدند مداره حرام بکی در آمد * حوان
مرگ حواهد شد * آخر همین طور شد که بعد از پارده رور در کشی
حوالب کرده بود که علامش نکارد در کش - و حضرت بعد از شیدن
سار مالم و مستقر شد (۱۸۰۸) شاه حسین کشی هارا بر دلک چون
مدر را آورده بود و در حشکی هم اکثر اوقاب مردم حضرت هردم شاه
حسن حکم می گردید و از حاییین مردم کشته می شدند - و اکثر مردم
پادشاهی هر رور گریخته بطرف شاه حسن مرسید * از حمله ملا
ساح الدس که در علم و بر آن عاتی کل داشد در آن حکم
کشید *

و در میان بر دی محمد حان و سعی حان گفت و گوی شد * سعی حان
هم گریخت * امرای معذوبی ماندند * از حمله بر دی محمد حان و میرزا

* کسی Misread in translating as (حسکی)

نکھر شدید وسی و اهل و عیال را (48b) در عمر کوت گداشتند — و حواحه
معظمرا سر گداشتند که ارجام حرمدار ناشد * حمیت باو ییگم حامله بودند *
بعد از متوجه شدن حضرت سه رور گذشته بود که سارع چهارم شهر رحم
المرح سنه بهصد و چهل و به وقت سحر رور بکسنه بود که بولد
حضرت نادشاه عالم پاه عالم گیر حلال الدس محمد آکر نادشاه عاری شد *
فهر در برح اسد بود * تولد در برح ثابت شن تعایت حوصلت و مسحان
گفتند فربدی که درین ساعت شود صاحب افال و درار عبر می شود *
حضرت در پایرده کرو می بودند که بردی محمد حان حر رسید *
حضرت سیار سیار حوشحال شدید — وار مزده و مشارت اس حر
تفسیرات مانندم بردی محمد حان معاف کردند *

و آن حواب که در لاهور دیک بودند هنون نام حلال الدس محمد آکر
نادشاه نام بهادند * وار آخما کوح کرده متوجه نکھر شدید — وار مردم
رعای و اطرافی و سودمه و سیپجه ما ده هرار کس جمع شدید — در پرگه
چون رسیدند (49a) یک علام شاه حسین میرزا ما چند سوار در چون
بود — گرمحیه رفت * در آخما ناع آسه سیار حوب مصعا بود * در آن ناع
حضرت فرور آمدند و مواضعات آن را مردم حاگیر تعیین فرمودند * ارجام
حون بهمه شش روره راه بود * ما شش ماه حضرت در آخما بودند و
عمر کوت کس فرستادند اهل حرم وسی تمام مردم را طاییدید * در آن
وقت حلال الدین آکر نادشاه شش ماه بودند که در چون آوردند *

و حماعه که ارجام و حساب هرآه اهل حرم آئند بودند معرفق شدند
و رعایا ارجحیه گفت و گوی که به بردی محمد حان واقع شد بود شکر
ریگی در میان بردی بیگن و او بود * یعنی شی بود که کوح کرده محاسب
ولایت حود رفت و حماعه سودمه و سیپجه سر مدو موافقت کرده رفتند *
حضرت بهمان جمعیت حود ماندند *

و هر دلوی که ارجاه سروں می آمد چون بر دلک می رسید مردم حودرا
در میانِ دلو می انداختند و رسماں گسته می شد و پنج شش کس هراه
دلو در چاه می افتدید* مردم سیار ارشگی مردید و هلاک می شدند*
حضرت دیدید که مردم ارشگی حودها در حاه می اندارد—ارکروئی
حاصه حود نیمه مردم آب می سوراندید—آخر مردم را سیراب کرده
مار پیشین بود که کوح کردید و یک شاهه رور راه رسید* در سرای
رسیدند* مالانی کلانی بود* اسان و شتران که درونِ مال در آمدید
حدان آب حوردید که اکثر مردید* امپ کم ماده بود—استروشر
بودید* ار آن مار (48^a) هر رور آب پیدا می شد مایه عمر کوب رسیدند
که حای حوت و تالاب سیار دارد* رعما* پشووار حضرت
آمد و درون قلعه مرد و مرل حوب داد و مردم اماراتا سروں قلعه
حا داد*

اکثر جر در کمال ار رای بود—ملک رو سه را چهار بر میدادید* ار بر
عاله و عیره رعما پیشکنی سیار آورد و چین خدمات تاسه سحا آورد
که بکدام ریان سعیر بوان کرد^b و چند روری در آخما سحر و حوسی
گدرا یبدید*

و بعد ار آنی که حریبه عام شد بر دی یگ حان ری سیار داشت
حضرت بطریق فرق او و ملی طلیلیدید* او حساب ده دو هشاد هزار
اشرفی فرق داد* حضرت گرفته حصه رسن تمام لشکر بخت کردید*
و گمر حمرها و سروپاها به رعما و فربنداں او عایت فرمودید* و بعضی
مردم اسانی ماره حر بیدید*

و پدرِ رعما میرزا شاه حسین گسته بود* بوحود آن هم دو سه هزار
سوار حزار بیهم رساین در ملار مت حضرت هراه کرد* مار حضرت متوجه

* (رعما) *Text, passim, spells thus*

برادرِ مرسولی و جمیع دیگر را رخصت کردند و فانجه حوابدید که رونه
ما کافران حنگ کشد — و یقین حضرت شد که اشان سور سلطان و معم
حان و میرزا نادگار را ما جمیع که گداشته بودم کشته شدمند ما ندست
کافران افداد که اس جماعت آنها را کشته بر سر ما آمدند اند * حضرت
مار حود سوار شده هر راه حسد کس اُردورا گداشته پیش رفتند * و آن
جماعت که حضرت فانجه حوابدید سمجھ که فرستاده بودند شیخ علی بیگ
سردار (۱۶۸) آن راحوبان را به یزد رده ار اس اند اح و چند کس دیگر را
مردم دیگر به سر رددند * کافران رو بگیر بیهاد و قلع شد * چند کس را
ربک هم گرفه آوردند * اُردو آهنگ آهسته میرفت * اما حضرت پادشاه دور
رعه بودند * اس مردم قلع کرده به آردو آمد رسیدند *

بهبود نام حوداری بود * اورا ارعاب حضرت دواینه فرستاد که
حضرت آهسته روید که بعامت آلهی قلع شد و کافران گرختند * بهبود
حودرا تحریر حضرت رساینه و حریر حوش برد * حضرت فروود آمدند — و اند که
آئی هم می پیدا شد * اما در فکر امرا بودند که آنها را چه واقع شد؟ که
ار دور چند سوار پیدا شدند * مار دعدعه شد که مادا مالدو باشد * کس
فرستاد که حریر یارد — دوند آمد که اشان بیمور سلطان و میرزا نادگار
و معم حان هه صحیح و سلامت می آید * راه گم کرده بودند * بعد ار
رسیدن آنها حضرت حوشحال شدند و شکر حن بیعا آوردند *

وصاح کوچ کردند — سه رور دیگر آب یافتند (۱۷۱) بعد ارسه رور
بر سر حانها رسیدند و چاهای مذکور سار عین بودند * بر سر آن چاهها
مقام کردند * آب آن چاه بعایت سُرخ بود — بر سرِ یک چاه حضرت
فروود آمدند — بر سرِ یک چاه دیگر تردی ییگ حان — و بر سرِ یک چاه
میرزا نادگار و معم حان و ملیم کوکه — و بر سرِ یک چاه ایسان بیمور
سلطان و حواجہ عاری و روش کوکه *

و آن دیگری حمری ارمی بکی کشید رو سحاب مردم کرد * جد کس را
رجی کرده و اس سواری حضرت کش * عرض ملاش سار کردند ما
آنکه آن هر دورا کشد (۱۰۷) و درین صن عویشه شد که مالدو رسن *
حضرت نادشا اس سواری داشتند که لاین سواری تمدن ملبو سکم
ماشد * برای سواری سلم از بردى یک اس طلسه ماشد * غالبا
بردى سک اس بداده * حضرت فرموده — برای من شرِ
حواله اعماقی را طار کند — من شر سوار حمام شد و سکم به اس
من سوار شوید * ظاهراً بدم سک شد اس که حضرت نادشاه اس
سواری خود را سواری سلم معن کرده اند و خود حال دارد که شر
سوار شوید * او والده خود را بر شر سوار کرده اس سواری والده خود
حضرت نادشاه نکن کرده *

حضرت سوار شد مسوچ عربکوت شد * از حای رهبر کرد که
راه را سر کد * هوا نعا — کرم بود و اس و حاروا ما را ب دریک فرو
سرفت و در عنف لشکر مالدو بر دیک رسن * مارکوح کردد و شه
و کسیه روان شدند * اکثر ارمن و مرد ساده بودند * حون لشکر (۴۶۱)
مالدو بر دیک رسن حضرت اشان سور سلطان و سمع حان و جمع
دیگر را فرمودد که شیان آعسه ساند و عمر را نکاه دارد ما ماحد کروه
بر آمن روم * اشان ماند و شد راه کم کردد * حضرت نام شب
راه رفید * حون صح شد سه رور بود که اشان آب ناف بودند که حائی
آب نافد * حضرت فرود آمدند که کن دونه آمد که هدوان سار
اس سوار و شر سوار رسند *

حضرت شیخ علی یک و روشن کوکه و بدم کوکه و سر ناسه محمد

* The M S writes the name of this jewel of chroniclers in the plural (حواله)

جیسلبر شدند* بعد از چند رور نقله دلور رسیدند که سرحدِ ولاستِ راحه مالدیو است (45a) دو رور آخا بودند— داده و گاه پیدا شد— وار آخا سایس حیسلبر روان شدند* چون بردیک حیسلبر رسیدند راحه حیسلبر جمعی را فرستاد و سر راه گرفت و حگ شد— و حضرت ماجدی از راه کاره میرسد* درین حگ چند کسی رحمی شدند— (۱) لوش ییگ برادر شاهم حان حلایر و پیر محمد احنه و روشنگ توشکی و چند دیگر رحمی شدند* آخر فتح کردند* کافران گریخته نقله درآمدند— و حضرت آن رور تا شصت کروه راه رسید و در سر مالائی مزل واقع شد* بعد از آن ساپلیر رسیدند* آمدم آن رور شوش دادند تا آنکه در پلودی مام پرگه که تعلق به مالدیو داشت رسیدند* راحه مالدیو در خودهپور بود— یک جبهه و یک شتریار اشریعی مخدوم حضرت فرستادند و دلائی سیار بود که خوش آمدید— یکاسرا شما میدهم* حضرت ماء دل جمع شسته بودند و آنکه حان را پیش مالدیو فرستادند که چه حواب میدهد ملا سرخ کناندار در آن شکست و ویرانی هد سایس (45b) ولاستِ مالدیو رفه ملازم شده بود* او عرصه فرستاد که ریهار هرار ریهار حضرت پیش یامد و در هر حاکه مزل دارد در ساعت کوچ کند که مالدیو در صدِ گرفتی شما است و اعتماد بر قول او نکند که ایلچی شیر حان آمده و شیر حان بوشه فرستاده که هر نوعی که داید و تواد آن حضرت را نگیرید— اگر اس کار کردند ناگور والور و هر حاشی که حواهید شما میدهم* و آنکه حان هم آمده گفت که وقت استادن بیست* عمار دیگر بود که حضرت کوچ کردند و در وقت سواری حضرت دو حاسوس را گرفه آوردند* هر دورا سنته بردیک آورده سعن مپرسیدند که دستهای خود را فی الحال حلاص کرده شمشیر کبر محمود کردیار کشیده اول محمود را رده— بعد از آن ناقی گوالباری را رحمی کرده—

آمَّ^{*} سیحان قلی که ار سگم اس حرف شیک آمد عرض رسانید^{*} حضرت
فرمودند اگر ما هرم اند هرم می سارم^{*}

عرض که ما چهل رور ارجحهٔ حمید ناو یکم مالعه و ماقشه بود و یکم
راصن شدند^{*} آخر حصره واله ام دلدار یکم بصیحت کردند که آخر
حود نکسی حواهی رسید — بهتر از پادشاه که حواهد بود — یکم گفتند که
آری نکسی حواهم رسید که دستِ من بگرسای او برسد — ه آنکه نکسی
برسم که دستِ من میدام بدام او برسد^{*} آخر مار (۴۳b) والده ام
 بصیحت سیار کردند^{*}

عرض که بعد ارجهل رور در ماه حمید الاول سنه بعده و
چهل و هشت در مقام نابر رور دوتسه بیم رور بود که استرلاب را حصره
پادشاه بدستِ مارک حود گرفته اند و ساعث سعدرا اختیار کرده میر
ابو القارا طلیع حکم فرمودند که نکاح استد^{*} ملع دو لک نکاحه
 عمر ابو القادادند^{*} بعد از عقد سه رور دیگر آخما بودند — بعد از آن
کوح کرده در کشتی شسند و متوجه نکهر شدند^{*}
و یکاه در نکهر بودند^{*} میر ابو القارا در پیش سلطان نکهری
فرستادند^{*} آخما نشویش شاه بر جمیت حق بوسند^{*}

آخر میر را هدال را رحصت قندهار کردند^{*} میر را نادگار ناصر را
محای حود در لری گداشتند و حضرت حود متوجه سیاه وان شدند که
ار ساه وان ما بهه شش هفت روره راهست^{*} سیاه وان قلعه مصوط
دارد و میر علیکه ملام حضرت پادشاه در آن قلعه بود و توپچی چندی
بود که هیچ کس را محال بر دیک قلعه رفتن سود^{*} چند کس از مردم
حضرت پادشاه مورچال (۴۴a) کرده بر دیک رسیدند و او را بصیحت کردند
که حرام عکی درس طور وقت حوب بست^{*} میر علیکه قول نکرد^{*}
آخر بق کردند و یک برج قلعه را انداحتند^{*} اماً قلعه را تواند گرفت

کردند* حمَدْ ناوِ یَكَم را بر سرده که اس حد کن اس؟ گَسَد که
دَحْرِ مَرْ مَا دَوْسَهْ حواحِه مَعْلَمْ رو بروی حضرت اساده بود*
گَسَد - اس سرها حوش مشود* حمَدْ ناوِ یَكَم را گَسَد که اس هم
حوینِ ما است*

در آن الْمَ حمَدْ ناوِ سَلَمْ (۱۱) اکثر در حل مَرْ را بَيْ بُود* رور دلَّلَر
مار حضرت مدَّن حضرت والَّه دلَّار سَلَمْ آمدَدَهْ فرمودَد - مَرْ مَا
دوست حوش اولد ما اس - سَلَبَ آسَه که دَحْرِ او را بَيْ بَسَ کَسَدَهْ
مَرْ را خَدَال عَدْرَه بَيْ بَسَ کَه اس دَحْرَه را بَيْ بَسَ مثل حواخِر و فرود
حود مَدَّام - حضرت مادشاه اند - مادا معاش بَلَك شُود بَسَ اماع
کلپ شود* حضرت مادشاه حمَدْ کَرَدَه بَيْ بَسَه رسَدَه

بعد از آن حضرت والَّه خَلَی بوشه فرمادَه که مادرِ دَحْرَه ارس
هم شتر بار مَكَدْ عَمَّصَتَه بَلَك سَمَّ رَمَدَه رسَدَه حضرت
پادشاه در حواب بوشه فرمادَه که اس حد شایان سار حوش آمد
هر ماری که می کند سر و حم دَلَمْ = دَلَمْ ارجح معاش که بوشه
امد اشنا اته - حمَدْ المَذْعَ حواحدَه حمه اسْلَار در را اس =
حضرت والَّه رسَه حضرت مادشاه را آوردَه آن رور حلَّس دادَه
بعد از مخلص سرل حود سرف رسَدَه رور دلَّار حضرت بش والَّام
آمدَد و گَسَد که کس (۱۱) رسَد حمَدْ ناوِ یَكَم را یَكَرا طَهَ سَلَو
حضرت والَّه که کس فرمادَه حمَدْ ناوِ یَكَم بَيْ بَسَه آمدَد - گَسَد - اکر
عرض ملاریت است حَوِيد آن رور یازَرَه سرف بش ام - دَكَرْ مَرَانی
حه یام* مریه دَكَرْ حضرت سَجَن فَرَ رَبَادَه که مَرْ را خَدَال را
رَفَه تَكَوَکَه یَكَم را رسَدَه مَرْ را گَسَد - بَرَحَدْ من گَنْمَه سَعَودَه
نو حود رسَه تَكَوَکَه سَحَل فَلَی که رسَه آسَه - یَكَم حواب دادَه که دلَّی
ما شاهان بَلَك مرته حار است - در مریه دَكَرْ ما مَرَسَه - من هی

آخر میر سدر را^{*} بیش شاه حسین میر را فرستاده که از صورت
بولاپت تو آمد ام و ولاپت تو سو مارک ناشد — ما دحل تواهیم کرد —
ماری تو خود آمد مرا ملارمت نک و خدمت که لارمه ناشد سخا یار — که
ما داعیه گھرات دارم و ولاپت ترا تو میگدارم * آخر شاه حسین مذکور
نکر و حیله ما پیع ما ه حضرت را در سمرگان گاه داشت و بعد از آن کس
خدمت خضرت فرساد که سامان طوئی دصر خود را کرده تخدمت
حضرت میعرسم و خود میر علامت خواهم آمد *

حضرت سعی او را ناور کردند — سه ماه دیگر انتظار کشیدند * عله
گاهی پیدا میشود و گاهی پیدا نی شود * مردم سپاه اسپان و شران خود را
کننه میخوردند * مار خضرت شیخ عد العفور را فرستادند — ما کی
انتظار میدهی — مابع (42^ه) آمدن کیست و باعث توقف جست ؟ اس
مرته داشت که کار سگ شن است و مردم سیار گریحه می روید * حواب
فرستاد که دختر من نامرد میر را کامران است و دیدن من هم امر محال
است — شهارا ملارمت کرده سعی توام *

درین اثنا محمد هدال میر را ار آب گذشید که عصی مردم میگفتند
که متوجه قدهار میشود * خضرت پادشاه که شیدید از عقب میر را
چد کس فرستاده که رفته ترسید (پرسید) که شیخ شد که قصد
قدهار دارد * جون ار میر را پرسیدند میر را گسید که عاط عرص
رساین اند * خضرت پادشاه اس حررا شیخ مدیدن خضرت والد
آمدند *

حرمهای میر را و هیه مردم میر را خضرت پادشاه را درین محل ملارمت

* آخر میرزا شاه حسین سمردا را Text, سمردا را (سمردا را) This is clearly the scribe's error Mir Samandar was a confidential servant of Humayun and is named in the histories as the envoy Cf note to translation

ملکه فریدان طبیع کامل نکد— چرا که همه فریدان را حادی عالی من در کامل داده و آکثر فتحها از شستن کامل شده ملکه در واقعه نامه فردوس مکانی هم مشهد اس معنی سیار مذکور است* چه شد که من از روی مهرماهی و برادری میرزا اسایت کردم— میرزا الحال جیش میگوید*

هرچند حضرت دلاسا و یکانگی معمودید— میرزا پیشر اریشر مالعه میسمودید* چون حضرت دیدید که هرآ میرزا تمعیت سار است و بهیچ وجه رفتن کامل میرزا راضی بست لاعلاج شده صور شد طرف نکهر و ملیان متوجه شدید* در ملیان که رسیدید یک رور مرل (41a) مودید* عله کمرک پیدا شد و اندک عله که در قلعه پیدا شده بود عردم قسمت کرده کوچ کردید و بر سر دریایی که هفت دریا یکجا شده اس رسیدید* حیران ماندید* کشته هم میرسد و اردوانی عظم هرآ* درین اثنا حر آمد که حواص حان ماجد امرا ارعنت می آید* محسوبان ملوحی بود که حاهای مسک داشت و کسی (کشی) سار هم داشت* حصره کسی را پیش او فرسانید و علم و عواره و اسپ و سروپا سرفستادید و طلب کشته مودید و عله هم طلب مودید* آخر الامر بخشنود برج فرب نک صد کشی مودید پر عله هم علامرت حضرت فرستادید* ارس خدمت شاسنه حضرت سیار حوتمالی کردید و کشی عله مذکور را عردم لشکر قسمت کردید و سعادت و سلامت ار آب گدشتند* رحمت مادر بخشوئ مذکور که خدمت شایسته بخا آورد*

و آخر الامر بعد از طی مسافت به نکهر رسیدید— و قلعه نکهر در ماری دریا واقع شده و قلعه مصوط دارد— و پادشاه قلعه مذکور که سلطان محمود (41b) ناشد مخصوص شده بود و حضرت به پهلوی قلعه سعادت و سلامت فرود آمد بودید— و بر دیک قلعه نای بود که میرزا شاه حسین سمندر راست کرده بود*

و در آن ایام پسی گوبور حامله بود* هه میگفتند که پسر نولد حواحد
شد* در همان ماه دوست مشی ار پسی گوبور در ماه حید الاول دفتر
نولد شد سخنی نباو سکم نام کردند*

و در آن رورها مررا حیدر را سگرفت کشمر عین موده اند* درس
انها حر آمد که شر حال رسید* عین اضطراری دست داد* فرار دادند
که صالح کوج کسد* (۱۰۲)

درس مذکور که برادران در لاهور بودند هر رور مصلحت و مشورت و
کنگاش میکردند* اصلاً سک حر قرار بی دادند* آخر الامر حر آمد
که شر حال آمد* دیگر بی علاج شد بکیر رور بود که کوج کردند و
حصرب داعنة کشمر داشد— و مررا حیدر کاشعر را فرساده بودند*
اما هور حر فتح کشمر یامد بود* کنگاش دادند که اگر حصرة
موحه کشمر شود و کشمر فی الحال مُسر شود و شر حال در لاهور
ماشد— آن رمان سار مشکل مشود*

حواله کلان ییگ در سیال کوت بود— موحه ملارمتِ حصرب شد*
مؤبد ییگ هراه حواله بود* محصرت عرصه داشت کرد— حواله
دعدهه ملارمت دارد وی آند اما ملاحظه میررا کامران دارد— اگر
حصرب سرعت ساند ملارمتِ حواله محصرت ما حس وحه مُسر
بی شود* حصرب ارشدن اس حر فی الحال جیهه بوشن مسلح و مکمل
شده موحه حواله شدند و حواله را هراه گرفه آوردند*

و محصرت فرمودند که ناتاق برادران به بدخشان روم و کابل (۴۷۶)
علی میررا کامران داشه ماشد* اما میررا کامران موس کامل را صی شدند
و گفند که کابل را محصرت فردوس مکانی در جیاب خود بواله من داده
د*— موس کامل لاس سست* محصرت فرمودند که در نایب کامل اکثر
محصرت فردوس مکانی مسرودد که کابل را من بیچه کس بحواهم داد—

سرهد ناشد* آن بی انصاف (۳۹۵) حدا نا نرس قول نکرده و گفت که
کابل را شما گذاشتم—در آنچه مادرفت*

مطفر ییگ در ساعت کوچ کرد و پیشرکس فرساد که کوچ می ناید
کرد* همین که حر رسید حضرت کوچ کردند گویا رور قیامت بود
که حای هارا آرسه هرا اساب هان بوع گداشتند* مگر بعد آنچه بود
همون را تواستند گرفت* شکر حدا درس بود که ار آب لامور گدر یافتد*
نه مردم پای آب گداشتند—و جد رور در کار درنای میل کردند که
ایلچی شیر حان آمد* قرار دادند که صاحب پیسد که میررا کامران الهاش
نمودند که مردا معزکه حواهد بود و ایلچی سیر حان حواهد آمد* اگر در بوك
رچه حضرت ششم ما فرقی میاب من و برادران ناشد ناعیت سرافرازی من
حواهد شد*

هیبت نابو ییگم میگوید میررا اس رماعی را پادشاه بوشه فرستادند و من
تبیک بودم که در حواب شیر حان بدسب ایلچی بوشه فرستادند* رماعی
اس است—

در اسه گرجه حود نائی ناشد—پوسه رحوشن حدائقی ناشد— (۳۹۶)
حودرا هنالی عربیدن عجب است—اس بوالعینی کارحدای ناشد*
ایلچی شیر حان که آمن ملارمت کرد*

حاطر مارک ایشان ملول شد* دلگزشک در حواب شدید و در
حواب دین اند که عربی آمن ارس ربا پا لاس سر پوشید و عصای در
دست* گفت مردانه ناش و ععم شور و عصای حودرا بدستِ مارک
حضرت داده اند و گفته اند حدای تعالی سو فربیدی حواهد داد—نامش
حلال الدس محمد آکر عالی* حضرت پرشیدند که اسیم شریع شما
چیست؟ فرموده اند که زیده بیل احمد حام—و فرموده اند آن فربید
ارسل من حواهد شد*

است* آخر میرزا هدال عرص کردید که قل کردی مادر و حوا مر
حضرت روش است* نا حل دارم در حدمت آبها تردد میکم و ایدوارم
ار حضرت حق سخاوه که در قدم حضرت والد و هشیره اس حفیر حان
حودرا شارکم*

آخر حضرت مادشاه ما میرزا عسکری و یادگار ناصر میرزا و امرای که
ار حگ گاه سلامت برآمد بودند متوجه فتح پور شدند*
و میرزا هدال حضره والده حودرا که دلدار بیکم ناشد و هشیره که
لچهره بیکم ناشد و اعماق آعه جه و گلار آعه چه و مارگل آعه چه و اهل
وعیال امرا و عیوه را در پیش انداحته می بردند که گواران سیار بر ایشان
ماحد* ارسپاهیان ایشان چد کس اسب انداحته اند و گواران را (۳۸b)
شکست دادند— و بلک تیر به اسپ مارک ایشان رسید* حگ وحدل
سیار کردند* صغارا از اسیری گواران حلاص کرده حضرت والد و
هشیره حودرا و سی امرا و عیوه مردم را در پیش انداحته به الور آمده
رسیدند*

چادر و حبیه و عیوه بعصی اساب که در کار بود گرفته متوجه لاهور
شدند* میرایان و امایان را آچه در کار بود هراه گرفه در اندک رور
آمن بlahور رسیدند*

حضرت در ماع حواحه عاری بردیک بیی حاج ناح فرود آمدید*
هر رور حیر شر حان میرسید* مدت سه ماه در لاهور بودند و رور
برور حری آمد که شیر حان دو کروه سه کروه می آید— ما اینکه حر
رسید که بردیک سرهد رسید*

و حضره مطیر بیگ نام امرا (۵۱c) داشتند* ترکان بود* اورا هراه
قاچی عد انه پیش شیر حان فرستادند که جه انصافست— تمام ملک
هندوستان را تو گذاشت* بلک لاهور ماند میان ما و شما حد هیں

حودرا فرستادد که اگر هیراه همرود مالک مرل حود بیاید * آخر در آن مرل که آمدن شد دیگر سیاد سوگند حوردن کردند که من برای حواهم گذاشت *

آخر صد گره و راری و فغان ار والدها وار والده حود وار هشیرها وار مردم پدر و برادران که ار حوردى ملک حاکلان شد بودیم — ار هه حذَا کرده بحر و رور بردید * دیدم که فرمان پادشاهی هم درس ماب هست * لا علاج شدم و محضرت عرصه داشت (37b) بوشم که ار حضرت جسم داشت آن بداشتم که اس حیررا ار ملارمت حود حذَا سارید و هه میررا کامران به محسند * آخر در حواب عرصه حیر حضرت پادشاه سلام نامه بوشه فرسانید به اس مصموں که من دل بداشتم که ترا ار حود حذَا کم — اماً چون میررا سیار مسالعه کرد و عخر و الماح بود صرور شد که ترا به میررا سپردم چرا که احوال ما هم بر سرِ هم ام — اشالله عالی هرگاه که اس هم صورة پدرید اول برای حواهم طلبید *

چون میررا متوجه لاهور شدند آکثر مردم ار امرا و سوداگران و عیوه هر کسی را اسعداد بود * گراهه * کرده و اهل و عیالِ حودهارا هر راه میررا کامران کوچایند بلاهور بردید *

بعد ار آمدن بلاهور حر رسید که برای آب گگ چنگ حنگ شد و شکست بر لشکرِ حضرت افاد * ماری اس قدر شد که حضرت ما برادران و حوشان ار آن ورطه سخت و سلامت برآمدند *

دیگر حوشاوید که در آگه بودند برای هر شئ متوجه لاهور شدند * در آن اثنا حضرت میررا هدال (38a) فرمودند که در آن فربت اول عیقه بیی عایب شدند * آخر سیار پشیمان شدم که چرا محصور حود نکشم * احوال هم عورات را درس طور وقت هر راه بمحای رسایدند مشکل

درین وقت که شیر حان بر دلک رسیده اس چه کار است که حضرت
میکند*

در آن رورها میر را کامران بیماری شعب رور کرده* چنان ضعیف
و لاغر شدند و ارس که لا عرش نبودند اصلاً جهره برحا سود و امید رستن
سود* عیالت (۳۶^b) آلهی بهر شدند — و میر را کامران را گمگی آن شد که
مصلحت حضرت نادشاه والدها به اشان ره ردادند* حضرت نادشاه اس
حسن را شدید* تکمیره مددین میر را کامران آمدید و سوگند حور دید
که هرگز در حیال ما بگذشته و بخس هرموده ام* ما وجود سوگند
حاطرِ میر را کامران حاف شد و بیماری میر را مار رور بدر شد
چاچه قوتِ سعن کردن نداشتند*

ما آنکه حر رسید که شیر حان ار لکھو گذشت حضرت کوح کردید
و مسوحه کوح شدید و میر را کامران را سیای حود در آگره ماندید*
بعد ار چند رور میر را کامران شیدید که حضرت نادشاه پل سه ار آب
گگ گذشتند* میر را کامران شدید — ار آگو کوح کردید*

طرف لاہور شسته بودم که میر را کامران فرمای نادشاهی را فرستادید
که شما را حکم است که هراة من به لاہور بروید* ار جھو من میر را
کامران بمحضر نادشاه گئه ناشد که سیاری من سار قوی است و
سار عربیب و سکن و سی عجموارم (۳۷^a) اگر گلدن یکم را حکم شود
که من هراه ملاہور برود عین عاست و کرم حواهد بود* حضرت بروی
ایشان گفته ناشد که بروید* چون نادشاه دولت و سعادت حاب لکھو
دو سه مرل رسید میر را فرمان نادشاهی را بعودید و محصل شدید که الله
شما هراه من بیائید* والده من درس اثنا گفه ناشد که هرگز ار مایان
حداً سفر نکرده است* ایشان فرمودید اگر سها سفر نکرده است شما سر
هراه بروید* ما پاخ صد ار سپاهی و مهران هشتم و هر دو آنکه وکوکه

میگوئد* و بار فرمودید که گلدن چه شود (۱۶۸) که برادرِ حود محمد هدال میرزا را بو رفه بیاری؟ حضرت واله ام گند که اس دھرك حور د سال است - هرگز صریکرده است * اگر حکم شود من بروم * آخصر ب فرمودید که من شما اس بصدیقات چون دهم اس حود طاهر است که عیماری فربداں بر مادر وادر لارم است * اگر نشریف برد عیمار است که بر مامان میکید *

آخر امر ابوالنقارا به مراعی حضرت واله ام طلب میرزا هدال فرسادید - و محمد هدال میرزا بعید شد اس حر شرف آور دید و حضرت واله حوشیانی ها کردید و پیشوای آمدید و هر آن حضرت واله میرزا هدال از الور آمدید و حضرت پادشاه را مادرم کردید و قصه شیخ بیول مذکور گند که حسنه و کعم و اس اس شاهنگری را شر حان بیعرستاد * چون شخصی رسید شیخ مذکور را تبار آن کشته *

عرض بعد از چند رور حر رسید که شر حان بر دیگر لکیو رسید * درین اثنا حضرت پادشاه ملک علام سعائی داشد * ارجی آنکه پادشاه در آن چوشه از اسب خُدا شد بود (۳۶۰) و علام سعائی حود را رسید و به مدد او از گرداب سعادت و سلامت برآمدید - آخر حضرت سنای مذکور را بر بخت شاند - و یام آن علام مشخص شدم * بعضی نظام میگفتند و بعضی سُل میگند * عرض آن علام سنای را بر بخت شاند و حکم فرمودید که همه امرا مان کورش علام سعائی کند و علام بهرگش هرچه حواهد بخشد و مصب بدهد * ما دو رور به آن علام پادشاهی دادید * میرزا هدال در آن مخلص حاضر به بودید * رحصت شده بار مالور رفعه بودید از سرای برآی کردن - و میرزا کامران سر در آن مخلص بامددید * سنای داشد و محضرت گهه مرتضیاد که علام را بخشش و رعایت دیگر ناست کرد - چه لارم بود که بر بخت نشد *

آمد و مردویں مکانی را ریارت کرده واله و همشهرها دین در باع گل
افشان مزل کردند*

درین اثنا سور بیگ آمد و حر آورد که حضرت پادشاه می آید*
چون ارجویه کشش شیخ بطلول میرزا هدال محبوب بودند حودرا حاس
الور کشیدند*

و میرزا کامران حضرت پادشاه را ملارمت کردند* بعد از چند رور ار
باع گل افشاء آمده حضرت پادشاه را ملارمت مسکردد* همان رور که
حضرت آمده شب بود که رفه ملارمت کردند* این حضرت را دیدند
فرمودند که اوّل ترا شاخم از برای آنکه وقی که لشکر طغایش به گور
سگاهه کشک بودم— طاقی پوش بودی* المحال که چنگ قصمه دیدم
شاختم— و گلبدین من ترا سیار یاد میکرم و گاهی پشمیان شک می گنم
که کاشکی هر راه می آوردم— اماً وقی که فطراب شد (۸۵۸) شکر میکرم
و میگنم الحمد لله که گلبدین را یاوردم— ما وجودی که عقنه حورد بود
صد هزار عم و افسوس بیحوردم که چرا لشکر آوردم*

و بعد از چند رور حضرت پادشاه مدیدی واله آمن بودند* آن حضرت
هیکل مصحح هر راه داشتند* فرمودند که ساعتی مردم کاره شوید*
مردم بر حاسد* حلوت شد* آخر حضرت به آجم و اس خبر و اعلانی
آعنه چه و گلدار آعنه چه و بارگل آعنه چه و ایگه من گفتند که هدال قول
وقاتِ من است سوی که مارا رو شائی خشم مطلوبت قوت نارو هم
مطلوب و مروع است* روا ناشد— سمعیه فصیه شیخ بطلول من
میرزا محمد هدال چه حمام گفت— آنچه نقدر الهی بود شد*
الحال من هیچ عار حاطری به هدال ندارم— و اگر ماور بکید—
مصحح را برداشته بودند که حضرت واله و دلدار بیگ و اس خبر
مصحح را اردست ایشان گرفتیم و هه گفتند— روا ناشد— چرا جین

حمله عایشه سلطان یکم دختر سلطان حسن میرزا و سپهکار که حلیمه پادشاه
ملام بود و ییگه حاکم کوکه و عنیبه یکم و چاحد بیسی که هفت ماهه شکم
داشت و شاد بیسی که اس هر سه هرمان پادشاه بودند* ارس چند کس
اصلًا و قطعاً حرتم نافع که در آن رفتند یا حه شدند* هر حد نیچَّ
و بردد کردند اصلًا معلوم شد که چه شدند*

و شویتن اشان ما حقول رور کشید* بعد ار آن صحبت نافع*

درس صحن حشو یگ و دیوانه یگ و راحد یگ و سید امیر ار
پشن حصره پادشاه که آمدند از طرف میرامان محمد سلطان میرزا
و پسرانش مارحر رسید که کوچ آمدند*

و میررا هدال بعد از (۳۱۵) قلی شج بخلول مدھلی رسید* مرفقر علی
و دولتخواهانِ دیگر را هراه گرفته ما دفع ورفع محمد سلطان میرزا
و پسرانش نکشد* میرامان از آنطرف گرمه نظری کوچ آمدند*
مرفر علی میرزا نادگار ناصر را در مدھلی درآورد* حون در میان میرزا
هدال و میرزا نادگار ناصر اخحاد و اخلاص سود — مرفقر علی که اس
طور حرکتی کرد میرزا هدال از قبور مدھلی را قل کرده نشست*

میررا کامران که اس حرها نستند — در اشان هم داعنه پادشاهی بیدا
شد* ما دوارده هرار سوار مسلح متوجه مدھلی را نشستند* مدھلی که رسیدند
میر فقر علی و میرزا نادگار ناصر در رواهه مدھلی نستند — وعد از دو سه رور
میر فقر علی قول و فرار گرفته آمن میررا کامران را دید — و عرص کرد که
حرهای حضرت پادشاه و شر حاکم را مان روشن شیب میشود — و میرزا
نادگار ناصر از ملاحظه خود شهارا ملارمت بی کند — ماسب دولت آست
که درس طور وقت ثنا میرزا هدال را گرفه موضعه آگه شوید و ححال
نشستن (۳۴۶) مدھلی نکشد* میررا کامران سجن میر فقر علی را بسندید
وسرو پا داده مدھلی رخصت کردند — وجود میرزا هدال را گرفه هم آگه

مسگر شدید و آکثر مردم اهل و عیال خود را در کشتنی ملا رو به آب
می کشیدند ما بحاجی بور پنه رسیدند *

در حین رفس قاسم سلطان در آنها ماندید * درین اثنا خبر آمد که
شیر حان آمد — و هر نار که حنگ می کردید مردم حضرت عالی می آمدید *
و درین اثنا ماما یگ ار خوبیور آمد و مرک سگ ار حاده آمد و معل
سگ ار (۳۸) او ده آمدن اس سه امرا که هراه شدند عله قسمت شد *
آخر حواسِ حُدا حین بود — عامل شسسه بودند که شر حان آمد
رحمت * لشکر شکست نافت و آکثر اهل و مردم در اسری ماندید —
و بدست مارک حصره رحم رسید * سه رور در چاده بودند * بعد از آن
به اریل آمدید و چون بر سرِ دریا آمدند در گذشت حیران ماندید که
می کشتنی چطور در گذرید * درین اثنا راحه نایع شش سوار آمده
ایشان را از پای آب گدراند * مدت حهار نیع رور مردم سی طعام و شراب
بودند * عاقبت الامر راحه مارار بربا کرد نا مردم لشکر چد رور بعیش
وعشرب گدرایدند و اسان بیرآسوده شدند — و هر که باده بوده اسپر
ماره حرید * عرص راحه خدمات شاسمه و ناسته بجا آورد — و رور
دیگر راحه را رخصت فرمودند و خود سعادت و سلامت عمار پیش بربل
آبِ حمه آمدید * نک حا گدر نافه مردم لشکر از آب گذشت — و بعد
از چد رور دیگر به کره * آمدید * در آنها داده و گاه و افر بود (۳۹)
از برای آنکه ولاتِ خود بود * مردم لشکر آسوده شد تکالی رسیدند —
وار کالپی کوح کرده متوجه آگه شدند * قل ار آمدن آگه خرسیدند
که شیر حان طرفِ حوسه می آمد * مردم را طرفه اصطراری دست داد *
از عصی ها در آن فطرات اصلًا و قطعاً نام و شان نافته شد * ار آن

* **أَكْرَهَ** Text Clearly an error Humāyūn was marching up the Dūnb from the junction of the Jamna and Ganges, towards Āgra

حاج علام او در گور بودد * حواس حاں (32a) و پسِ حودرا فرساد
که بروند و گرهی را مصوط کند * ایشانام آمدید و گرهی را گرفت —
و آنحضرت حنا نگر سگ کرا سش بوشه بودد که بلک مرل پیش روی
رفت * بر سر گرهی رسید * حکم شد * حنا نگر یک رحمی شد و کس
سوار کشته شد *

آخر حصره در کنول گابو سه هزار رور بودد و مصلحت چنان شد که
کوچ کرده پیشتر بروند و بر دلک گرهی فرود آمد * حون کوچ کرده پیشتر
رفه بر دلک گرهی فرود آمدید شش شر حاں و حواس حاں گرخشد *
فردا آنحضرت به گرهی در آمدید و از گرهی گذشته به گور سگاله رفت
و گور را گرفت *

ماهه ماه در ولات گور بودد — و گور را حت آناد نام کردند مار بدولت
در گور بودد که حر رسید امرا گرخمه میر را هدال ملحق شدند *
حر روی یگ و راهید یگ و سد امر میر را ملار مت کرده عرض
رسایدید که پادشاه بدولت دور رفه اند — و میر ایام که محمد سلطان
میر را و پسر اش اولع میر را و شاه میر را مار سر بر آورده اند — و هر ریان
در سکحا شان میدهد (32b) و مشیخت پاهی سدگی شیخ بهلول درین
وقت حبیه و کشم و اساب ساهگری در بخته سیان کرده و در ارایها
مار کرده شیر حاں و میر ایام معرفت * میر را هدال ماوری کردند *
آخر بجهه شخص ای امر میر را بور الدین محمد را فرسادید * حسنه و کشم هارا
ناید * سدگی شیخ بهلول را نهل رسایدید * ای حر که به پادشاه
رسد متوجه آگه شدند و آن روی آگه گگر را گرفه می آمدید *

برابر مسگیر که رسیدید امرا عرض رسایدید که شما پادشاه کلان
اید — بهمان راهی که آمن بودید بهمان راه متوجه شوید — ما شر حاں
نگوید که راه آمدن حودرا مانع راه دیگر رفت * مار آنحضرت موجه

و چهاردهم شهرين شعبان ار ماع ررافشان کوچ کرده متوجه گرات
شد و بر سر سلطان بها در رفت و در محصور مقابل شد و حیگ کرده
سلطان بها در را شکست او گریخته بحاب چپاير رفت * آخر حضرت
حود مقید شك تعاقب کردند چپاير را گداشته طرف احمد آداد رفت *
حضره ولايت احمد آداد را هم گرفت و مردم تمام گراترا بعیسی
کردند و احمد آداد را بپرا عسکري عامت فرمودند — و بهروچ را ناقص
حسین سلطان دادند — پس را به نادگار باصر بپرا دادند — و حضره
حود ار چپاير مردم ايدک طریق سیر نه کمایت رفند * بعد ار حد
رور يك عورتی حر او رد که — چه شنسه ايد — مردم کمایت حمع شن
نه سر شما حواهد ریخت — یا حضرت سوار شوند * امراياي حضرت
بر سر آنها معمات ناحسن و آها (31b) گير کردند و پاره را قتل کردند —
و بعد ار آن به برود آمدند * ار آنها طرف چپاير رفند *

شسته بودم که فرات شد و مردم بپرا عسکري احمد آداد را ماند
پس پادشاه آمدند — و عرض رسابند که بپرا عسکري و نادگار باصر
بپرا مُقَّ شده اند و به آگره بیخواهد بروند * چون حضرت شیدند صرور
شد متوجه آگره شدند — و نهم معامله گرات پرداختند — گرات را
برایه کوچ کرده بحاب آگره آمدند * ناسکال در آگره بودند *

بعد ار آن بحاب حاده رفتند و حاده را و سارمن را گرفند * شر حان
در پرکinde بود و بخدمت حضرت عرصه داشت کرد که سه پر علام
شما است — بکھارا سرحدی سد سته مدهد — که در آنها شسته باشم *

درین فکر بودند که پادشاه گور سگاله رحی شد گریخته پس حضرت
آمد و بدان حضره مقید شدند — و کوچ کرده مسوحه گور سگاله
شدند * شر حان داشت که پادشاه گور سگاله رفند * حود هم حریم
المعارکرده بگور رفت و هر راه پسی حود بکھا شد * پسرا او و حواس

سیاد گله کردید که چد رور است که درین نام شریف آوردہ اید— بلک رور سخانه ما به آمدید* در راه حاشه ما حوحار نکاشه اید— امیدوارم که در حاشه ما بیر شریف سارید و معرکه و محلس سارید* ما کی اسیمه سی العالیها در نامه اس سیچاره روا حواهید داشت* ما هم دلی دارم— در حاشهای دیگر سه مریه شریف بردهد و شش و رور در آنها بعش و عشرت گدراسید* آخر (۳۰۶) پادشاه هیج نگنسد و بمار رسید— بلک پهرب رور برآمده بود که هشترها ویگان و دلدار ییگم و افعانی آعجه و گلار آعجه و موه حان و آعه حان واپیگه هارا (۴۱۵) طلیدید— وحالا که ۵۵ رفیم پادشاه هیج نگنسد و همه داشند که پادشاه در قیر اند* بعد از آن گفتند— بعد از رمانی— که سی سحر چه ملا از من گلیما کردی— و— آن همچو حای سود که گله ناست کرد* شما مدادید که در حاشه ولی عنتار شمایان بوده ام* من صرورت است حاطر حوى اشنان کردن و ما* حود آن از روی اشنان شرمد ام که درمی ییم— و دام در حاطرم بود که ارشمان سعلی طلسم* حوب شد که شما حود بربان آوردید— من اعوی— اگر در آمد و رفت من دربر واقع شود از من برخیبد— و گریه حطی بوشه بدید که رصائی شما حواه بیائند حواه بیائید که ما راضی و شاکر ام از شما* گلرگ بیگم فی الحال چمن مصون بوشه دادند و به گلرگ بیگم دریافید و سگه سگم ناره مالعه کردید که عذر ندر ارگاهش (۳۱۸) نگردید— عرص م ا ار اطیار گله آن بود که مارا از النابِ حود سرافرار سارید— اشنان کاررا نا اسما رسید— ما چه چاره دارم— پادشاه اند* حطی بوشه دادید* حضرت پادشاه هم دریافید*

* (نَا) Read as *bā wujūd i ān*

** (بتحلی) Read in translating for, an attested writing

شکست (۵۹۱) دادید * و بعد از چند گاه حصر بادشاه حود موجه
نگران سعادت وسلامت شدید * ساریع پاردم شور رح رح المراجَ
سنه بیصد و چهل و نیم عمر حرم نگران بودید — و پس از در
ماع رراوشان برپا کردید — و حود در ماع مذکور نام جمع شدن لشکرها
نگاه بودید *

رورهای دیوان که نکشه و سه شسه ناشد — آروی آب می رسد و ما
در ماع بودید اکثر رورها آحم و هشترها و حرمان در ملارمت حضرت
می بودم * واره ملاحدار معصومه سلطان سگم — بعد از آن حادر
گلرگ یکم و چادر آچم بیکما بود * بعد از آن حادر مادرم * گلرگ
سگم و ییگه یکم و عمره بیکما *

و کارهایها برپا کردید و طبار بودید * مرسته اول که جمه و
حرگاه و مارگاه در ماع برپا کردید سخنده دیں بورت و ترس و رور آمد
بیگما و هشیرها شرف آوردید * چون معصومه سلطان سگم بر دیکتر
فرور آمک بود دمحاء اشان شرف آوردید * هه بیگما و هشیرها
در ملارمت حصر بودم * محاه هر سگی و هشیره (۳۰۸) که شریف
می بر دید هه سگما و هه هشیرها هراه مرفسد — و فرداش در حاهه اس
حیر شریف فرمودید * ماهه بهرشت محلس بود و اکثر بیگما و هشیرها
وسگها و آغاها و آنچهها و ساریدها و گوسدها بودید * بعد از سه بهر
حضرت آشنا فرمودید * هشیرها و سگما هه در ملارمت حضرت
نکه کردید *

و ییگه یکم بدار کردید که وقت عار است * حصر فرمودید که آب
وصورا در همان حاه طبار سارید * ییگم داشد که پادشاه بیدار شدید *

* (مادرم) Cf n to trs

** فرور (فرور) occurs elsewhere where might be looked for

و حضرت نادشاه فرمودد که آکه حام اگر حکم شود در حوص
آب نامد * آکه حام گفتد سیار حوب * حود آمک بر سر ریه نشستند
ومردم عافل که بیکارگی شراس رده آب آمد — حوانان را طرفه اصرایی
دست داده (28a) حضرت نادشاه فرمودد دحل مدارد — هر کدام شهابان
که یک گلوله شست * و یک پارچه معجون محوید واریجا مدر روید — و در
آن میان هر که معجون حورد رود برآمد و آب نا شنالگ رسبید بود *
الحاصل هه معجون رسا حوردید و برآمدید * واشی طوی کشیدد و سرو باها
هردم بهادرد و اعماقها و سرو باها هردم معجون حورده و عیره داده * در
لب حوص مالاری بود و در مالار دریچه ها اهرک گرفه بودید که حوانان
در آن مالار شستند و ماری گزان ماری می کردید * مارار ریاه پر کرده بودید
و یکشی هارا آئین سنته بودید * و در یک کشتنی مثل شتن کسی و شش کنج
سته بودید و در کشتنی مالاحایه ساخته بودید و پامان ماعی ساحنه بودید
ار قسم قلعه و بایح حروس و مافرمان ولله کاشه بودید و در یک حا
هشت کشتنی کرده بودید که هشت پرچه منشد * عرض که حدای تعالی
ارس قسم اختراعات در دل مارک اشان عطا کرده بود — هر که مددید
مشیر و مخصوصی نامد *

دیگر شرح (28b) طوی میر را هدال آکه ** سلطام ییگ حواهِ مهدی
حواجه بودید *

برهه نام عمر حصر حواجه هر زید دیگر نداشتند و هر زید می شد * آکه
حام سلطام را هر زیدی مگاه داشه بودید و دو ساله بود که حام را ده ییگ
مگاه کرده بودید و عجایب دوست می داشتند و به برادر را ده حود داده و
طوی را در کمال لطافت و حوسی کردید *

* (سیت) This word has only the *yā* points and might yield also *sib*, apple. Anise seems the safer remedy against chill

** (آنکه) Translated as *an ast kīz*

تصویرهای و حطّهای حوش بیاده بودند* و حانه سوم که آن را حانه مراد می‌گفشد در آن حانه حریکت از مرضع و طرفی از صدیل انداده و توشهای حیال انداده و در پایان بر بحالچهای حاصلگی انداده در پیش بحالچهاء دست رحابهای انداده هه از رربعت حیال بود و میوهای الوان و شرتهای گوبانگون— و هه اساب عیش و طرب تعمیم مها ساخته بودند*

و روری که طوی حانه طلس شد حکم فرمودد که تمام میررایان و بیگان و امرایان هه ساقچ سارید* فرموده ایستان هه آوردند— حکم فرمودد که اس ساقچ را سه بوده نکسد— سه حوان اشری شد و شش حوان شاهرجی— سکحوان اشری و دو حوان شاهرجی را به هدو بیگ دادد که اس حصه دولت است— میررایان و امرایان و وردا و سپاهی ها بخت نکس— و سکحوان اشری و دو حوان شاهرجی را (27b) علامت مولا محمد فرعی دادد که اس حصه سعادت است— اس را به آکاران و اشرف و علام و صلحاء و رهاد و مشایخ و درویش و عناد و فعا و مساکین بخش نکند— و یکحوان اشری و دو حوان شاهرجی را فرمودد که اس حصه مراد است— ار ما است— پیش بیارید* آوردند— فرمودد که شمردن چه حالت است* اول حود دست مارک رسایدید و فرمودد که اول در یکحواچه اسری و در یکحواچه شاهرجی پیش بیگان هه برد* هر کسی مشت مشت حودها یگرد و ماقی دو حوان شاهرجی— و هه اشری را قرس دو هرار بود— و شاهرجی قرس ده هرار باشد* هه را پاشیدید و نثار کردید اول پیش ولی معنان و دکر(؟ دیگر) محاصران محلس ار صد و صد پیغام که هیچکس یافته بود— تحصیص جماعه که در حوص بودند— سیار یافتند*

کوکه و شرف شاکوکه و فتح کوکه و راعه سلطان کوکه و ماه لفا کوکه و ایگهای ما و کوکهای ما و مردم ییگان و کوچ امراها و مردم که در دست راست بودند — سلیمه ییگه و بیسی ییکه و حام آعه دختر حواحه عدالت مروارید و نیگار آعه مادرِ معل ییگ و بار سلطان آعه و آعه کوکه کوچ سمع حل و دختر میرشاه حسین (۲۶۷) عیسی سگه و یکیست مام و کالمی مام و بیگی آعه و حام آعه و سعادت سلطان آعه و بیسی دولت بخت و بصلب آعه و عیسی کمالی و دیگر سگهها و آعها کوچ امراها مدن طرف شستند (۲۶۸) و هه در آن محل مخصوص طوی حاضر بودند*

و طرح حانه طلس مدن بفصیل — حانه کلان مشن که در آن حاطوی دادند — حانه حورد دیگر برادر آن هم مشن بود — و در هر دو مشن اینواع نکاف و آرایش بوده بودند — و در مشن کلان که طوی حانه ناشد — نخت مرضع بهاده — در ملا و پایانِ نخت ادسفهای رددوری انداحه و شدهای مروارید او محنته بقدری بلک بیم گر دراری — هر لری دو کره آسه در پایان قرب سی چهل لری‌ها ساخته و آویشه — و در مشن حورد چهپرکت* (۲۶۹) مرضع بهاده و پایدار و صراحی و مشریه مرضع و طلا آلات و معرو آلات ساده در طاق‌ها بهاده و بمحاسب دیواحابه قله رویه و دیگری بمحاسب ماع مشرق رویه و در سوم بمحاسب مشن کلان حوب رویه و در چهارم بمحاسب مشن حورد شمال رویه — در بالای اس سه حانه مذکور سه نالاحابه بود که یکی را حانه دولت میگفتند — و در آن حانه ه اساب سپاه‌گری بی بود — مثل شمشیر مرضع و فور مرضع و یکر سخن مرضع و حمدهر و کهیه مرضع و برکش — هه مرضع و قوریوش (۲۷۰) رددوری انداحه — و حانه دوم که آن حانه سعادت میگفتند در آن حانه حای هار و کتابها و فلمندابهای مرضع و حردابهای حوش و مرقهای لطیف مع

* (حیلہ رکھنا) Several Hindustani words occur in the M S

و بچک سکم و شاه سکم مادرِ دلشاد سکم دھرِ محظیان یکم عمه پادشاه
و بچکه بیکم و آماق یکم دھرِ سلطان سنت یکم و میرلیق یکم عمه نادشاه
و شاد سکم بوائے سلطان حسن میرزا ارجای مادری عمه پادشاه—
و هر انکر یکم دھرِ مظفر میرزا بوائے سلطان حسن میرزا—ساردوس
مداشد (۱۹۷) ولایت مردانه فی بوشید و با نوع هرها آراء همچو
رشکری برash و حوكاں ماری و سرانداری و آکنسرارها فی واحد—
و کل یکم و سوچ سکم و حاصل سلطان یکم و افروزابو یکم و آعه سکم و
میروره سکم و میرلاس یکم*

و یکم دیگر هم سار بودند که تنصل بود و شش یکم—هه علوه دار
بودند—و حنان دیگر هم بودند*

بعد از طوئی طلس طوئی میرزا هدال شد—ار سگان مذکور بعضی
بولاست رسد و بعضی که در آن محل حاضر بودند آندر در دست راست
نشه بودند* ار یکم مانان—آع سلطان و آعاجه مادرِ ادگار سلطان
یکم—و آنون ماما و سلمه و سکه و بیسی حسه و حجه یکه*

ومردم دیگر که بدستِ حبِ پادشاه سنه بودند بر بوشك ردوري—
معصومه سلطان سکم و گلریگه بیکم و گلچیره و اس حیر شکسه گلدن
و عنقه سلطان یکم و آحم والده ما که دلدار یکم ناشد—و گلرگه بیکم و
بیکه بیکم (۲۰۸) و پیچه مام و سلطان کوچ امر حلجه والوش بیکم و ماهد
بیکم و حورشد کوکه و کوکه رادهای پادشاه نامان—اعانی آعاجه و گلار
آعه و ار گل آعه چه و کوچ هدو سک محدوده آعه و فاطمه سلطان
اسگه مادرِ روش کوکه—میرسأء انگه مادرِ بدم کوکه کوچ میرزا فی
کوکه—کوچ محمدی کوکه—کوچ مؤنَّد سک و کوکهای نادشاه—حورشید

شرح نوی حامه که در لبِ درما راست کرده بودند— و نام آنرا طسم
ند بودند *

اول حامه کلای مشن بود و در ماهه حامه حوص (۲۱۶) مشن و مار
میاهه حوص صنه مشن و مالای آن گلسمهای ولاقی انداحه— و اکثر
یام و صاحبِ حس دحران و ربایر صاحبِ حمال و ساریدها
و بندهاه حوش آواررا حکم کردد که در حوص شنسد و در پیشگاهه
به محظ مرصع که آكام در بوی عاتی کرده بودند بهاده و توشك
دوری در پیش انداحته بودند *

حضرت پادشاه و آنکه حام در پیش محظ در یک بوشك مشستند *
در دست راست آنکه حام عمیهای اشان دحران سلطان ابوسعید میرزا
رخهان ییگم و مدح العمال سگم و آق بیگم و سلطان محظ ییگم و گوهر
اد ییگم و حد معه سلطان ییگم شستند *

و در بوشك دیگر عمیهای ما که حواهان حضرت فردوس مکانی
شد— شهر باو ییگم و نادگار سلطان سگم و عاشه سلطان ییگم دختر
سلطان حسین میرزا والوع ییگم دختر رس سلطان سگم عمه حضرت
ادشاه و عاشه سلطان سگم و سلطانی سگم دختر سلطان احمد میرزا عمیوی
ادشاه (۲۵۰) و مادر کلای حام سگم ییگه سلطان ییگم دختر سلطان
حلل میرزا عمیوی پادشاه و ماهم سگم و سگی ییگم دختر الع ییگ میرزا
کامی عموی پادشاه— و حاوارده ییگم دختر سلطان مسعود میرزا ار حاس
سادری بواسه نائی محمد (۲۵۱) سلطان ییگم عمه پادشاه و شاه حام
دختر مدح العمال ییگم— و حام ییگم دختر آق سگم و رس سلطان حام
دختر سلطان محمود حام طعائی کلای پادشاه— و مجده سلطان حام دختر
سلطان احمد حام که به الاحه حام مشهور بودند طعائی حوره پادشاه
کلای و حاشی حواهه میرزا جدر دختر حالة پادشاه و ییگه کلای ییگم

طم که اسیا هم گوالار را به پیسد* بوكار و حواحه کیررا فرساد دکه
سکه پیکم و عصمه سلطان یکم را ار آگه آوردید - و دو ماه در گرالار ما
مکدیکر بهم گدر اسید* بعد ار آن مسوحه آگه شدید - و در ماه شعبان
در آگه آمدید*

و در ماه شوال به آكام شوش شک شد* در سردهم شهر مدکور سه
پیسد و حبیل ار عالم فای عالم حاوی حرامید - و فربدا حصره
زاده نامه را داع سین ناره شد - شخص من که اسل حود مرا برورش
برهوده بودند* مرا طرفه حلی و سطافی و مصبت صعب دست داده
بود* ش و رور گره و فعال و راری مکدم* حضرت زاده چند مرسه
آمد، دلداری ها و عجواری ها و مهربانی ها کردید* دو ساله بونم که
حضره آكام مرا در مزل (۲۴۸) حود برده و برورش کردید و ده ساله
شدم که اشان ار عالم رحلت بودند* مالک سال دیگر م در مزل

آدام بودم*

و فی که حضرت سر دهولور رشد - در سال ماردم هر راه آخ شدم
و بش ار آنکه بگوالار بود و عمار را با کرده رشد*
و بعد از آن حل آكام زاده مدهلی شرب برده و سای قلعه دین ناه
سادید و به آگه آمدید - و آله حام* حضرت زاده گند که بوئی سر را
هدال کی می کند؟ حضرت گند سم اه - و در آن اثنا آكام حاب
بودید که سر را هدال نکاخ کردید - اما موقوف ناساب بوي بودید که
سارید - فرمودید که اساب بوئی طلم هم طبار است - اول بوئی طلم
بدم* بعد از آن توئی سر را هدال نکم* حضرت زاده ه آله حام
گند که حصره عه چه سعوانید؟ اشان گند خدا مارک و خر

کردند*

وهنت هرار کس حلعتِ حاصل پوشانیده و حد رور شادیها
کردند *

و درس اثنا شیبدید که محمد رمان میررا پدر حاجی محمد حان کوکی را
کشت (۲۳۸) و جیال ناعی شدن دارد * حضرت نادشاه برای طلب آنها
کس فرستادند و آنها را گرفته در بیانه بد کرده بیادگار طعای سردید —
ومردم بادگار طعای نکی شد محمد رمان میر را گربراسید * درس اثنا
سلطان محمد میر را ویحوب سلطان سررا را حکم شد که پیشمن هر دو مل
کشد * در مل کشیدن پیحوب کور شد و سعید سلطان میر را کسی که مل
کشید پیشمن مشارالیه است برآورد * بعد ارجمند رور محمد رمان میر را
ومحمد سلطان میر را و پسرانش والوع میر را و شاه میر را گریختند — و
درس حد سال که در حد سودیم هشنه عویای آنها بود *

و حضرت نادشاه که از لشکر سَن و مادرید آمدید فرس نکمال در
آگره بودند * به آكام عرص کردند که درس رورها دلگرم * اگر حکم
شود در ملارمت شما سیر گوالمار بروم * حضرت آكام و آحم و هشیرها
معصومه سلطان یکم را که ماه چجه سکم و گلرگ سکم را گل چجه
میگشم در ملارمت ولی عمان در گوالبار بودم *

و گچه و سکم در اوده بودند چرا که شوهر اشان بوخته بوعا سلطان
برحیت حق پوستند (۲۳۹) و مردم که در ملارمت یکم بودند — ارجمند
حضرت عرصه داشت کردند که توجه بوعا سلطان فوت شدند — سکم را
چه حکم میشود؟ حضرت نادشاه میر را چهرا حکم فرمودند که رفه یکم را
در آگره بیارد — ما بیر در آگره می آیم *

درس اثنا حضرت آكام گفتند که اگر حکم شود سگه بیگ و عنینه را

* (گربراسیدند) The rebellious Mirzâs were of the house of Bîyqârâ with which Mâham Begam had relationship

وپادشاه که مخابِ جناده رفعه بودند دولت و سعادت آمدند*
 آکام که ماهم پیگم ناشد — توئی کلان دادند و مبارارهارا (۲۲b) آس
 ستد — و پیش ارس آیین سدی مردم نارار بیکردند آحر اشان مردم
 آدمی و سپاهی را هم حکم کردند ما حابهای حوب و مکابهای مرعوب راس
 نکند* ار آن پس آیین سدی در هد تابع شد*

و نخت مرضع که پچهار رسه می برآمدند مالای او ادسته* رددوری
 و توشك و تکیه رددوری انداحید و پوشش حرگاهها و مارگاه اندرون
 رربعت فریگی و پیرون ارسفلات پریگالی* حوبهای حرگاه و مارگاه طلا
 ملمع کرده بودند* آن سیار برس شده بود و عرلى** حرگاه ار رکش
 سگرای و کست و سرکست و آفاهه حلامیح*** و شع دان ها و مشربیا و گلاب
 چاشها هه ار طلا و مرضه راست کرده بودند — وار هه اساب مرست
 ساخته بوئی حوبی و مرعوبی دادند* و دوارده قطار شتر و دوارده
 قطار چجر و هفتاد راس اسپ سوچاق و صد راس اسپ مارگر —

* (ادسته) This word occurs thrice in the M S i.e., at 22b (here), at 26b—in the plural—, and at 28b. It is written clearly and confidently nothing like it has been yielded to our search by the Dictionaries. Mr Beveridge suggests (1) that it may be a corrupt and domestic form of an Arabic word ‘alugaha’ which he finds as what may be termed a corresponding word, in a description of the Peacock Throne and from this we assume the “hangings” of the translation. Or (2) it may be a corruption of the Turkī asqī “tout qui est suspendu pour ornement” Zenker 58b

** (بعرلى) There are no points. Mr A G Ellis has kindly helped me with the suggestion I have accepted. The meaning of دوعورلوق is “scutie qui recouvre la tente” (P de C Turkī Dict. 237). As the lining of the festal tents is described in the preceding paragraph, I have placed the second among the gifts. Vambery translates the word die obere Filzdecke des Zeltes

*** (حلامیح) I suggest گلابچی on the analogy of حلامیح. One looks for *lason* after *erier* but the word following cannot be read as *clilumchi* or any other equivalent for *bason* which I can find. *Clilumchi*, i.e. *chilanchi* occur at 72a and does not resemble the doubtful word here rendered *julabjan*

ماه از طرف گور رسیدد * بعمرَد استماع اس حر حضرت پادشاه ار آگره
متوجه آها شدند و سَ و مباریدرا شکست داده به چاده آمدند - و چاده را
بیر گرفته به آگره آمدند *

و آکام که ماهم ییگم باشد سیار در طلب و آرزو بودند که فریده هاون را
به سیم - و هر حا که دختر صاحب حُس و حمال می بود - در حدمتِ
حضرت پادشاه می آوردند * و میوه حان که دختر حذیگ ساول بود
در حدمتِ من بود * (بعد) از قصا حضرت فردوس مکانی روری در جایه
حود فرمودند - هاون - میوه حان بد بیست - چرا در حدمت حود می
گیری؟ - آخر یگفته ایشان هاون (۲۲۸) پادشاه هاں شب عقد سنته میوه
حان را گرفت - و بعد ارسه رور ییگه ییگم ار کل آمدند و حامله شدند *
بعد ار نک سال دختر تولد شد و ماش را عفیقه ییگم بهادرد * و آکه ماهم
ییگم را میوه حان میگفت که من بیر حامله ام * آخر آکام دو طریق * سراق
طیار کردند و می گفتند - هر کدام که ار شماں پسر براید سراق ییگرا مان
مدهم - و سراق سنته و بدام و چار معرار طلا و عرو راست کرده بودند -
و سراق ** نهان بیر راست کرده بودند و حوشحال بودند که شايد یکی ار
اين ها پسر براید - و چشم استطار داشد که ییگه ییگم عفیقه ییگم را
رائیدند * الحال حشم برآ میوه حان داشد که ده ماه شد و باردهم ماه بیر
گدست * میوه حان میگفت که حالت من حرم میررا الع ییگ بودند * در
دواerde ماه پسر رائیدند * من هم شايد که مدان ماسد شن باشم * و حرگها
دوچمه و بوشك ها پر کرده * آخر هی معلوم شد که هوپک *** بوده *

* (طریق) The text has no points to the *yā* of my reading. If the prop were absent the word could be read طرق, *tarq*, fold *i.e.* sets. The sense of the two passages is, I think, that Mâham got together two sets of arms of which one included of those a Mughal Commander

** (سراق) Text *yarāq-yalqān* for *yarāq i-illhān*

*** (هوپک) *an ambitious little person or a little mad-woman*

کردند— و شصت حافظِ حوشخواه و حوشالخان قاری را فرمودند که
سچ وقت عارِ بحاجاتِ مسحوارد و حتم فراں مکسد و فانجه مارواح حضرت
فردوس مکانی مسحوارد ناشد* و سبکری که احوال (۲۱۸) سچ پور
۱۱ مشهور است دروست و مع رنادی بیع لک ار بیا به و قبِ مرارِ حضرت
کردند که برای حرجِ علام و حعاط و عیره که تعلیٰ مرار دارد صرفی شد
ناشد* دو وقت آش آکام بعین فرمودند— صالح یک گاو و دو گوسفند
و بیع بر— و عار دیگر بیع بر* ما دویم سال که آکام در فید حاه بودند
اس طعام دو وقه ارسکار ایشان بر سر مرار بخت میکردند*

و ما رمای که آکام حیات بودند در دولحاهه آکام حضرت نادشاه را
میدیدم* وقتی که آکام بدحال شدند من گفتند که سیار مستکل مسامد
که بعد از موی من دختران پادشاه برادر حودرا در حاهه کلرگ سی
نه بیسد* گویا که سچ حضرت آکام در دل و هوش حضرت نادشاه
بود— ما در هدوستان بودند— دائم در حاهه ما آمن مال را میدیدند
و مهرماهی و عیالت و شفعت بیحمد میکردند— و هصعومه سلطان نگم
و گلریگ بیگ و گلچهره بیگ و عیره— هه سگان که کدحدا شد بودند—
حضره پادشاه در حاهه اس خیر می آمدند— و هه بیگان در حاهه اس
خیر آمن ملارمت حضرت نادشاه میکردند (۲۱۹) عرص که حضرت
نادشاه حاطرحوی اس شکسته را بعد از وفات پادشاه نامام و آکام هه چین
عایت میکردند و شفعت بیحمد در ناره اس بیچاره میخوردند که تنی

و بی سری حودرا نداشم*

مدهَ ده سال که بعد از وفات حضرت فردوس مکانی— حضرت
حت آشیانی در هد بودند هه مردم در رفاهت و ایست و فرامداری
و اطاعت بودند* بعد از واقعه فردوس مکانی هنَ و مارید بعد از شش

* Text has *tashdid* (تنّ)

برای دیدن می آید* هه برحواستند هه بیگان را و مادران را محاچه کلان بردمد* و فریدان و حوشان و عیره مردم را رور سیاه اهاد و طرفه راری و فرباد و معان و بیطافی کردن گرفت— و هر کس نگوشه پهای اس رور ساه داشتند*

و واقعه ایشان را پهان میکردند* آخر الامر آرایش حان نام یکی امرای هد بود— او عرصه داشت که پهان کردن اس امر حوب بیست از رای آنکه در هدوسان رسم است که اگر نادشاهان را واقعه چین دست میدهد— مردم ناراری ناراح میکشد* ماده معلان ناداسه در حابهای و در حولهای در آئند ناراح نکشد* مناسب آست که سک کسی حامة سرح پوشاند و بر قل سوار نکند وار نالاء قبل مادی نکد که حضرت نادر نادشاه درویش شدید و پادشاهی خود را به هابون نادشاه دادید* و حضرت هابون پادشاه حکم فرمودید که چین نکید* سعید مادی کردن مردم را حلی تسلی شد (20b) و هه مردم دعای دولت ایشان میکردند* تاریخ هم شهر مذکور رور حجم حضرت هابون پادشاه بخت نشستند— و پادشاهی ایشان را هه عالم مارک ناد گفتند*

بعد ار آن مدیدن نادران و حواهاران و مردم خود آمده— پرسش و دلداری داده بوارش و عم حوارها فرمودند— و حکم فرمودید هر کس هر مقصی و خدمتی و حاگیری و حای که داشت— هه محال خود ناشد و خدمت خود بدسرور صائق قنام نماید*

و در رور مذکور میررا هدال ار کامل آئند حضرت نادشاه را ملارمت کرد* برو مهرنای ها کردید و سیار حوشحال شدید* ار حراس که ار پدر مائده بود چیر سیار میررا هدال عاست فرمودید*

بعد ار وفاتِ حضرت نادشاه نام مرات و ایام سرکه اول معرکه بر سر مارِ حضرت نادشاه نام می شد و محمد علی عپس را متولی مرار حضرت

بدست احمد چاشی گیر مل و بگو که هر طور کرده در آش حاصه نادشاهی
ادارد و با وعده سیار کرده بود* ما وجود آنکه حضرت نادشاهی آن پیش
مذحت را مادر می گند و حا و حاگر تعین کرده رعاست کلی فرموده
بودند— و فرموده بودند که مرا سخای سلطان ابراهیم خود بدان * اما از
آنها که حیل در آن قوم عال است رعایتها مسطور بذاشت* مشبور
است— ۵۰ مارگرد ماحل خود هه چیز* فصه مختصر آن ره رکه ما
آن ناورحی آورده داده بود ناورحی را الله عالی کور و کر ساخته بود که
ره را ملا، مانی پاشن بود کمربن ساول کرده بودند* اما اصل یماری از
اثر همان بود که رور برور صعف و بحیف میشدید و هر رور شوش (۱۹۶)
اشان در برآمد بود و چیزه مارک اشان در نظر که فرداش هه امر امال را
طلیک فرمودند که سالهای بود که در دل داشتم که نادشاهی خود را بهما بون
مررا بدشم و خود در باغ رفاقتان بگوشش شدم * ارکم آلی هه چر
میسر شد اما آن شد که در مدرستی خود اس امر را بکم* الحال اس
شوش مرا ربوں کرده وصیت بیکم که هه اشان هابون را سخای من داد
— و در دولت حواهی او سصر نکسد و به او موافق و بکوهه ملشید* ار حق
سخاوه اسدوارم که هابون هم عردم خوب پست خواهد آمد* دیگر هابون
تره و برادران را و هه خوشان و مردم خود را و برآ نخدا می سپارم و
اس هارا تنو می سپارم* ار اس سخان حاضران و باطنان را گره و راری
دست داد و خود هم خشیان مارک برآب گردید*

اس واقعه را اهل حرم و مردم درون شیدید * طرفه حالی و بیطاقی
و گریه و راری دست داد * بعد ارسه رور ار عالم فای عالم حاوی
حرامیدد * ساریع پسح ماه حبید الاول رور دوشی سه پهصد
وسی و هفت بود که شعار شدید *

و در حین بیماری حکم کردند مأکام که گلریگ بیگ و گلچهره بیگرا
کهحدا ناید کرد (18b) و هرگاه که حضرت عه حیو^{*} نشیری از رانی
فرماید معلوم ایشان نکید که نادشاه میگوید محاط من میرسد که گلریگ را
به ایس بیمور سلطان و گلچهره را به توحه بوعا سلطان سنت نکم * آگام
سم کن آمدند * به ایشان گفتد که حضرت نادشاه اس قسم فرماید
که محاط من حین رسید — نافی آنچه رضای ایشان ناشد — همان طور
نکد * حضرت آگام بپرسید که خدا مارک و سارکاری کاد —
سیار حوب محاط ایشان رسید * حیجم ** خود و مدیع الهمال بیگ و آق
بیگم هر دو عه بر دالان بر دیدند * صعا *** داده و ساطها انداحته
 ساعت را ملاحظه کرده پچه ماهم هر دو سلطانان را راپور ناید به دامادی
سرافرار نکند *

درین صعن نشوش سکم ایشان پیشتر شد * حضره هایون نادشاه
که احوال پدر حراب بر دیدند — نار بیطاقت شدند * اطا و حکارا
طلبیده گشته بیک ملاحظه کرده علاج شوش حضرت عائید * اطا
و حکما (19a) جمع شده گشته کم طالعی مالی است که داروی کارگری
شود * امیدواریم از حضرت حق سخاوه که از حراثه عیب شعای عامل
عطایکند * درین حین چون نص آخحضرت دیدند — اطا عرض رسابدند
که علامت های رهر است که والله سلطان ابراهیم داده بود — و
آنچاست که بیک مدحکت مدست داده خود بیک بونچه رهر داده بود که برده

* (حیو) By this term of endearment Hamida-banu, Al bar's mother addressed the dying Gul badan

** (حیجم) A similar omission of the alif is not infrequent in the MS (ماماها for ماماها ۱۴b) So also of the points of the ya and the che

*** As in this MS alif is several times written for ha' hawwaz, I translate صعنه, cstrade, raised seat and not صعا

قربت دو سه ماه صاحب فراش بودند و میر را هابون سحاب کالحر
 رفته بودند* چون شوش حضرت مادشاه پسر شد طلب حضرت
 هابون مادشاه کس فرستادند* اشان بالمعار رسیدند* چون حضرة را
 ملاریت کردند— اشان را سار صعیف دیدند* حضرت هابون مادشاه
 رفت نام عوده— بیطاقی کردن گرفت و مخدوسکاران می گند که نکارگی
 چرا این قسم را بردار گشته اند— و اطا و حکارا طلبیدند و گند که من
 ایشان را تدرست گداشه روئه بودم— یکارگی چه شن؟ حکما و اطا
 چیرها می گند*

و حضرت مادشاه ملام هر رمان و هر ساعت می پرسید که هابون کجا
 است؟ و چه کار می کند؟ درس اثنا نکی آمد گفت که پسر مر حورد سگ
 میر بردى ییگ کورش میرساند* فی الحال حضرت مادشاه (۱۸^۸) ملام
 ماصطراپ عام طلبین پرسیدند که هدال کجا است؟ کی حواهد آمد؟ چه
 ملا انتظار داد* میر بردى گفت که شاهزاده کامگار بدھی رست اند—
 امرور فردا مخدمت حواهد رسید* درس اثنا حضرت مادشاه ملام به میر
 بردى ییگ گند که مردک بدخت— شیخ ام که حواهر برآ در کالم
 کدحدا کردند و برآ در لاهور کدحدا کردند— برای اس طوهای پسر مرا
 رود بر می ** آوردی— که اسطوار ارجح گشت— و می پرسید که هدال
 میر را چه مendar شن است و به که ماسد است؟ چون میر بردى ییگ
 حامه میر را پوشن بود نمود که اس حامه شاهزاده اس که به سه عال
 فرموده اند* حضرت پیشر طلبیدند که به سه قد و قامت هدال چه مدار
 شن است— و هر رمان هر ساعت می گند که هرار درع که هدال را
 بدیدم* هر کس که می آمد می پرسیدند که هدال کی حواهد آمد؟

* (همایوس) This is probably a clerical error for Hindāl

** (نمی) The text has no negative but it is required by the context.

حویش دیدند—وار آخا هر دو—مادر و پسر—ماسد عیسی و مریم
متوجه آگه شدند*

ودر حبی که ناگه در رسیدند—اس حقیر هراه هشیرها ملارمت آن
حضرت فرسته حصال رفه کردم—چون صعیف ایشان پیشتر از پیشتر
بود در این وقت هرگاه که آن حضرت بهوش حوت می آمدند از
ریان در ایشان حویش پرسن می فرمودند که حواهار حوش آمدید—
بیائید نا یکدیگر را در بایم که شمارا در بیشه ام* فرس سه مرتبه
سرافرار کرده از ریان گوهرافشان حود ناس عارت سرافرار فرمودند*
و حون حضرت آمدند و در بیاقد—بعزد دیدن آن چهره بورافشان
در کلفت و رفت شد و ایشان پیشتر اطهار بدلی کردن گرفتند*
درین اثنا حضرت (17a) آکام گفشد که شما از فربد من عافلید—
و پادشاه اند چه عم دارید—و فربدان دیگر پیر دارید* مرا عالم است که
فربد یگاهه دارم* حضرت حواب دادند که ماهم اگرچه فربدان دیگر
دارم—اما هیچ فربدی بر اینها یوں تو دوست می دارم—ار برای آنکه
سلطنت و مادشاهی و دیای روشن از برای یگاهه حهان و مادره دوران
کامگار بر حوردار فربد دلس هایوں میخواهم—مه برای دیگران*

وقی که اشان بیمار بودند حضرت روین حضرت مرسی علی کرم الله
وحه نگاه داشتد—و آن روین را از رور حهار شه نگاه میدارد*
اشان از اصطراپ و بیطاقتی از رور سه شه نگاه داشتند* هوا بعایت
گرم بود* دل و حگر ایشان بعید—و در روین مذکور دعا حواستند که
حداما—اگر عوض حال حال مدل شود—من که نایرام—غم و حال
حودرا بهایوں تحشیدم—و در همان رور حضرت فردوس مکانی را
تشویش شد (17b) و هایوں مادشاه بر سر حود آب رمحند و پیرون آمد
مار دادند و حضرت مادشاه نایرام را از حجه تشوش درون بردند*

صدات شکر سما آوردند و مسوحه آگه شدند— و بهم ییگان حولهای
عنه فرمودند و بعد از حد رور سر باع ررا فشان رفند*

و در باع مذکور و مسحه بود* آنرا که دیدند فرمودند— دل من از
آنکه وادثای ترسه در باع ررا فشان کوشید شدم— و از برای
حدید دری ماهرا آنها بخی می ساراست— و مادثای را به هایون بدم*
درین ای حدیت آکام و به مردان گرسه و سطافی کرده گنبد که
دنی می شیرا در می مادثای سالیا سیار و فربیایی بیشتر در امان
بودند، دارد و به مردان (۱۶۱) در قدم شما نکمال پیری برسد*

مد از چند رور آلور سررا سار شدند و ساری اشان بدرد شک کشید
که هر حد حکم نه و اطا علاج کردند— یماری اشان شرار شر
شد، آخر نهال ساری از عالم فای عالم حادوای حرامیدد* حصرف
رزنه سار سب و عم حور دید* والله سررا آلور که دلدار ییگم ناشد—
او غم و عتمه آن مرد— که نادر حیان و گاهه عصر بود— سودا پدا
کردند* حیون دلکری از حد گذشت حضرت مادشاه ماکام و ییگان
کشید— ساند— سر دخولور مروم— و خود در کشی شسه سعادت
و سلام ار آب گذشت و دخولور مذکور رفند* ییگان سر بخواست
که در کشی شسه ار آب نگذرید*

که در اس انا عرصه داشت مولانا محمد فرعولی از دهی آمد* بوشه
بود که هایون سررا بیمار آمد و حالی عجی دارید شدند اس حر حصرف
شک رودی رود مسوحه دهی بی ماند شود که سررا (۱۶۶) سیار سطافی
میگند* سمرد شدند اس حر حضرت آکام سطافی کرده* ماند
شده که مخمور آب ناشد— صحاب دهی مسوحه شدند* در متبره رسلند
چایچه شده بودند ار آن ده چند مصروف و معهول بچشم حیان بیش

و در پای افتادم و حضرت پرشیس سیار بودند * رملی در محل شاخد و این
غیرها در آن اثنا آندر حوشحالی روی بود که مردمی بر آن منصور
باشد *

بعد از آمدن آگرہ سه ماه گذشته بود که حضرت نادشاه متوجه دهولپور
شدند و حضرت ماهم بیگم و اسحاق به سردهولپور رفم * در دهولپور
حوالی ده درده راست کرده بودند ار لک پرچه * ار آخا سیکری رفتند *
صده کلای در میانه کول حکم کردند که راست بکند * و فی که آن
راست شد در کشتن شسته آخا میرسد و سرمی کردند و می شستند —
که ما حال هم آن صده مذکور هست * و در سیکری در باع چوکدی هم
راست کرده بودند * حضرت نادشاه نامام در آن حوکدی * بورحامه برپا
کرده در آن شسته مصحب می بوشتند *

و من و اعاعی آعاعه در پیش در یامان شسسه بودم که آکام تمار
رفتد * من ما اعاعی آعاعه گعم که دست مرا نکشید * اعاعی آعاعه دست
مرا نکشیدند * دست من برآمد و من (۱۵) بیطافی و گرمه کردن گرفم *
آخر کمان گررا آورده دست مرا سنه موحه آگرہ شدند *

و در آگرہ رسید بودند که حر آوردند که بیگمان ار کامل می آید *
حضرت نادشاه نامام پیشوار آکه حام که عمه کلان من و حواهر کلان
حضرت نادشاه نامام بودند ما بوگرام پیشوار رفتند و همی بیگمان در ملارت
آکه حام در مزل ایشان ملارت کردند * حوشحالها بودند و

* (دور حامه) Erskine (202 n) says "perhaps a space enclosed by a low railing" Chardin (*Voyage en Perse*) has a picture of a grandee seated within an enclosure (at sides and back) which as he sits, appears to reach his shoulders. Perhaps this is a *tür-khana*. Zenker describes it as a seat of honour of the nature of a throne. It would supply a necessity of Indian life, if one might read *taw*, net, and allow the royal author a mosquito room

و فی که آکام سش نادشاه ناما می آمدید مرا حکم کردید که در رور
روش آمن حضرت را ملارمت کید *

به رک و دو بوقور اس و دو خاوه کوبل که نادشاه ناما فرماده
بودند و یک خاوه که ار کامل آورده بودند — قرس صد معالی حدسگاران
آکام بر اپال موحاق سوار پر رس و رس *

و حلقة ناما سلطان کوچ حود ما بوگرام پیشوار آمدید و من در خاوه
بودم * مامنای من در باعچه مرا فرود آورده بودند و رلجه (sic) انداده
مالای رلجه مرا شاندید و من اموختند که وفی حلبة ناما بیاسد شما اساده
شده در باند * چون حلبة ناما آمد من اساده در رام * درین صن
سلطان (۱۱۱) کوچ اشار هم آمد * من ناداسه میخواستم که بحرمن که
حلبة ناما بیاد مالعه پست بخادید که اس پرداه شما است — مان بر جاست
حاجت بست * بدر شما اس پر علام حود را سرافراز کرده اند که در ماب
او اینجیں حکم فرموده اند * روا ناشد مدهارا چه عحال است؟

پشکش حلبة ناما بس هرار شاهرجی و پنج اسپ گرم و سلطان کوچ
اشان سه هرار شاهرجی و سه اسپ پشکش کرد و گفت — ما حاضری
طبار است اگر بوش حان کسد سرافراز سدها حواهد بود * قول
کردم — در حای حوب صمعه کلان راست کرده و چادر سرلات سرح
امدرون رربعت گهرای وش شامانه سرلات و رربعت — هر کدام یک
ریگ و چهار حوقه سرافراز سفرلاب و چوبهای سرافراز هی ریگ بود *
در مرل حلبة ناما ششم — ما حاضری کشید ما فرس ببحاه (sic) گو سعد
بریان و بان و شرت و مسوه سیار * عافت الامر طعام حورده در خاوه
در آمن در ملارمت حضرت نادشاه ناما آمد ملارمت (۱۵۰) کردم

* (۱۵۰) What follows appears to be an incomplete and perhaps mis-placed description of Akām's cortège

مراحت سمال آمد و رفت سوداگر و عیوه بر ساند و گدارید ما مرفه
الحال و فارع المال آمد و رفت باند*

روری که به رعا سگا حنگ حواهد شد در شان قاسم حسین
سلطان مواسه دحری سلطان حسین میرزا که پسر عاشه سلطان بیگم
ماشد—در ش مذکور حر آمد که قاسم حسین میرزا از حراسان
آمد در ده کروی رسید* (۱۳۱) حضرت را از استیاع اس حر حوش
حال کلی روی بود* فرمودند که چه مدارکن هراه دارد؟ چون
محض بودند سی حوقل سوار بود في الحال هرار سوار مسلح و مکمل به
ش فرستادند که همان شهراه شد آمدند—ما مردم عم و سگاه
داند که کومنک آمد رسید و بوقت آمد* هر که اس رای و بیبررا شید

سیار پسندید*

وصاح آن که ماه حمید الاول سنه بهصد و سی و سه بود در دامن
کوه سیکری که الحال فتح بور بر بالای آن کوه آنادان شد—به رعا سگا
حنگ صفت شد بعات آلهی فتح کرد و عاری شدید*

بعد از فتح رعا سگا بعد بلک سال آکام که مام یکم ماشد از کابل
بهدوستان آمدند و اس خفر هم هراه اشان پیشتر از هشترها آمد
حضرت نادشاه ناما را ملارمت کرد و آکام در کول رسیدند که
حضرت نادشاه دو محافه سه رکب و رسیدند* از کول ناگره الیغار
کرده رسید و حضرت نادشاه حال داشتند که ما کو محلانی پیشوار
(۱۳۲) روید* بارشام بکی آمد گفت که حضرت را در دو کروی
گداشته آمد* حضرت نادشاه ناما نا اسب آوردن محمل نکردند
و بیاده روان شدند و در پیشخانه پنج ماه در حور دید* آکام میخواست
که باده شوید* نادشاه ناما عالید و حود در حلوي آکام نا حامه حود
بیاده آمدند*

شدید و اطهار بی دلی می‌سودید و (۱۲۶) مردم لشکر را چون مان
حالت دیدند ملاحظه کلی نمودند* چون عیم مردیک رسید مدیری که
محاطر مارک اشان رسید اس بود که جمع اُمرا و حواپیں و سلاطین و وضع
و شریف و صغر و کسر که از گرخته گان و نایعی آچه مانند بودند باقی را
حکم فرمودند که هم جمع شوید* هر یک جمع شن آمدید* فرمودند که همچ
میدانند که می‌آه ما و وطن و شهر مالوف ما چند ماهه راه است* حدا
از آن رور بگهدارد که اگر مردم شکست خوردید—بعود نالله—ما تکا
و وطن و شیر ما تکا که کار مردم احس و بگاهه می‌افتد* پس همان پیشتر
که خود را مان دوش قرار ناند داد که اگر عیم را می‌گشم—عاری می
شوم و اگر کشه می‌شوم—شیهد می‌شوم* بهر دو بعدن بمهود ما است
و درجه عطا و مرتبه علیاست*

هه یک دل شن قول کردند* بر طلاق و مصحف سوگند خوردند و
فانجه خوانند و گنسد—پادشاه اشاه الله تعالیٰ نارمی در حال و در دن
خواهد بود—در حال سپاری و حال شاری خود را معاف (۱۳۸) ندادند*
وقل ارجحگ رعا سگا به دو رور پیش حضرت پادشاه از شراب
تو بده کرده بودند—ملک ارجیع ماهی بوبه کردند—و بعده موافقت و
ماعت چهار صد حوان نانی که دعوی مردانگی و بکلی و لک حنه می
نمودند—در آن محل طبل حضرت پادشاه آنها سر بوبه کردند و جمع
آلات ماهی و طلا آلا و غیره آلات از پیاله و صراحی و عیره هم را تکسته
سقرا و مساکین بخش کردند*

و فرمانها باطراف و حواب ساکن تمام فرستادند که از بلاح و نبعا و رکا
حیوانات و بکلیفات نامشروع هم را معاف کردم—که هیچ احدی و مردی

* (ماهه) Cf. 8a

پاره سگ حوص ده در دهی فرموده بودند و می گفست که هرگاه این
حوص طیار شود شراب پر حواهم کرد* چون قل ار حنگ رعما^{*} سگا
که ار شراب نوبه کرده بودند شرمت لیمون پر کردند*

** سعد ار فتح سلطان ابراهیم سعد ار یکسال رعما ار طرف مدو
(or هندو) پیدا شد بلشکری حد*

ار امرا و راحها و راما هر کدام که آمن حضرت مادشاهرا ملامت کرده
بودند—هر چهه یاعی شک بر عما رفعه پیوسد ما کول حلالي و سهل
ورایبری هه پر گهارای و راحها و اعماان یاعی شدید* قربت دو لک
سوار جمع شک *

درس ولا محمد شرف مخیم ما مردم لشکر گفته که میاس دولت آست
که حضرت مادشاه حنگ نکشد—که ستاره شکر *** یلدور در بر این
است* لشکر ادشاھی را عج هیرانی دست داد و سیار متکر و متألم

* (رعما) Perhaps a sarcasm is intended by changing the title *rānā* into the epithet *ra nā*—a foolish admirer of himself. Sangū is always so stigmatized, but so too are other and friendly *Rānās*. Cf. 48 b

** (مدو) Text uncertain. The enemy came from the side which from a military stand-point, was emphatically Hindū and also may be said colloquially to have come from the direction of Mandū.

*** (سکر) I am indebted to Mr Beveridge for the interesting information in the following note. The سکر (Venus) of the text is, he believes, a mistake for سگر, *Salkiz*, eight, the Eight Stars being regarded as unpropitious by Persians. Gul-badan has perhaps confused the portents of a defeat by Shaibānī at Khwāja Kārdzīn in 1501 and the battle of Khānwa in 1527. Bābar's statement about Khānwa is that Sharīf gave warning that Mars was in the west and that whoever should come from the east, would be defeated.

Bābar has a characteristic story of his having precipitated the fight at Kārdzīn (1501) because the Eight Stars were exactly between the opposing armies and if he had delayed, they would have favoured Shaibānī for 13 or 14 days. "These observances were all nonsense and my precipitation was without the least solid excuse." He lost the battle. Cf. Steingass Pers Dict 689, Vullers II 310 a, Memns 92, 353, 368.

ما گردد* حق سخاوه مالک هدوشان را ما عطا کرده باید ما دولت را
نمم ننم *

وار دختر سلطان ابو سعید بیررا هست ییگم آمن بودند— گوهر شاد
سکم و محظی حیان بیگم و حدبیعه سلطان بیگم و مدح العمال بیگم و آن
ییگم و سلطان محبت— و رس سلطان حتم دختر عائی پادشاه سلطان محمود
حال و محبت سلطان حام دختر الچه حال عائی حورد حضرت پادشاه
بودند* فصه مختصر هه بیگان و حیان بود و شش (۱۱) کیس بودند*
بیمه آییا حای و حاگر و اعمامات حاطر حواه بعین کردند*

ومدت چیار سال که در آگه بودند هر رور جمعه مدبدن عهای حود
مرفعت* لک رور خواهات گرم بود و حضرت آکم گنسد که خواهات
گرم است— اگر بک جمعه برود خه شود؟ بیگان ارس سخن مخواهد
رمد* پادشاه ما آکام گنسد— مام ار بو عج است که این سخن
مگونی* دختران حضرت ابو سعید سلطان مررا که ار پدر و برادران
حود خدا شد— من اگر حاطر حوى اشان نکم حون شود؟
خواهه قاسم معار حکم کردند— خدمتی حوت ستر مام و آن آست
که عهیای ما هر کاری و یا میعنی در درخواه داشه ناشد— سخان و دل
حود خدمات درخواهه ولی سخن را سدم رسای*

و در آگه آروی آب عماریها فرمودند و خانه سگین که خلوخانه
ایشان میانه حرم و ناع و در دلوخانه هم خانه سگین راست کرده
بودند— و در میانه خانه حوصی و خیار خُرده در چهار برج خانه— و در
کار در ما (۱۲۵) چوکدی راست کرده بودند— و در دهولپور هم ار لک

* (آکام) Up to this point this alternative name of Nāham has been written آکم Now (as elsewhere in some other words) the orthography of the writer improves and the correct spelling is given آکام = آکه ام = my Lady

و سگمان و آعه‌ها و انگها و کوکها و آعه‌حدها و همه دعاء‌گویان از
حراؤ* و اشرفی (۱۰۱) و شاهرجی و پارچه حُدّا حُدّا مدهد* از روی
معصل بدن ترتیب دادند* ما سه رور در باغ و دیوان‌خانه مذکور
حوالی و معزکه داشتند* سرافرگشتند و بدعا و دولت حضرت فاطمه
حواله و حوشحال شد سعدات شکر بغا اوردند*

و بدست حواحه کلان سگ عموی عس** بک اشرفی کلان بورن
سه سر نادشاهی که پایرده سر هند ناشد و بحواحه گفته و دید— اگر
عس ارشما پرسد که حضرت نادشاه من حه فرساده است— حواهید
گفت که بک اشرفی— و حون بی المحبیه بکی بوده تعجب کرده ما سه
رور کاهید* حکم بود که اشرفی را سوراخ کرده و حشمتراسته و در
گردش اینداجه درون حرم فرسید* سهردی که اشرفی سوراخ کرده در
گردش اینداخته ارگاری طرفه بیطافی و اصطрап و حوشحال میکرد
و به دو دست اشرافی را گرفته طرفگیها میکرد که کسی اشرفی مرا نگرد—
وار بیگان هم هر کدام ده دوارده اشرفی دادند ما قریب هناد و (۱۱۸)
هشاد اشرفی شد*

و بعد از آمدن حواحه کلان بیگ نکامل— در آگهه هایون نادشاه و همه
سرایان و سلطانان و امرا از حرایها بخش کردند— و باطراف و حواس
و ولاته فرمانهای ساکند فرستادند که هر کس که در ملارمت ما بیاند
رعايتها کلی حواهیم کرد* علی المخصوص آبهای که پدر و اما و اجداد
مارا خدمت کرده اند— اگر بیاند در فراخور ادعامات حواهد
یافت— و ارسل صاحب فران ما چنگیر حای هر که ناشد متوجه درگه

* حواهی *Sic*, but presumably (حراؤ)

** For remarks on this passage cf. note to translation (عس)

ابراهیم ملک لک و هشاد هرار سوار داشت و با هرار پیغمبر رحمر فعل
مست (۹۶) ولشکر حضرت بادشاهه جود مع سوداگر و ملک و بدر دوارده
هرار کپس بوده و سپاهی کار آمدنی بیانش شش هفت هرار کس بود *
و حرابة پس بادشاهه بست اشان افساد و همه را بخش کردند * درس
اشاء امرای هدسان عرص کردند که در هدسان عن است حزبه
بادشاهان ماصی را حرج کردن ملک حرمه را اصافه نموده جمع کرد
و حضرت بر عکس آن کردند که نمای حرمه هارا بخش کردند *

و حواحه کلان سگ جد مریه رحصن کامل طلبیدند که هراخ من
بیوای هد موافق است * اگر رحصن شود جد گاه در کابل آنها مامش —
و حضرت بحدای حواحه اصلاً اصلًا و قطعاً راضی شدند * آخر حون
دیدند که حواحه سار مبالغه دارد رحصن دادند و فرمودند که چون
میروند بخنه و هدیه هدرا که اربع سلطان ابراهیم بست افتداده بولی عیبان
(۸۱۵) و هشیربها و اهل حرم میجواهم فرسم (۸۱۵) — هراخ برد و منصل بوشه
میدهم * از روی منصل (۱۰۸) نعمت نائند و بگوئند که در باغ و دیوان حامه
هر کدام بیگان سرا بردها و حادرها علاوه نزد — و معرکه حوبی کرده
و سعی شکر حوسخانه به حا آورید که صحی کلی روی نموده و بیر یگنی بند
منصل رساد — ملک پا بر حاصه از پارل سلطان ابراهیم ما ملک رکسی طلا
پر حواهر ولعل و مروارید و ناقوت و الماس و رمزد و فروره و بربحد
وعن الهر — و در حواچه صدقی پر اشرفی و در دو حوان دیگر
شاهرجی و هر حسی پارچهای بوقور توقیر که چهار حوان و ملک رکسی
و ملک پا بر و ملک رکسی حواهر و هر ملک حوان از هر حس اشرفی
و شاهرجی که حکم کرده بود و رکسی حواهر و همان پا بر را که ه ولی عیان
حود پیشکش کرده ام برد گدر اسد و دیگر پیشکش کرده ام آنها را در
عن آن گدر اسد — و حواهران و فریدان و حرمان و حوش ابدان

و مدهشان را بهایون پادشاه دادید — و هایون پادشاه متوجه آصوبه
گشید *

حضرت پادشاه و آنکم هم متعاقب مدهشان رسید و چند روری ما
یکدیگر بهم گدراید * حضرت هایون پادشاه آخما ماندید و پادشاه
نامام و آنکم تکامل آمدید *

و بعد چند گاه موحه قلات و قدهار شدید و در ساعت که نفلات
رسیدید فتح کرده متوجه قدهار شدید — و مردم قدهار ما یکم سال در قلعه
سده بودند * بعد یکیم سال سعیگ وحدل سیار قدهار را بعایت آلهی
فتح نمودند و رر سیار بست اعاده و سپاهی و مردم لشکر رها و شترها
محش کردید — و قدهار را بیرا کامران دادید — وجود متوجه کامل
شدید *

رور حُمّعه عره صفر سنه بهصد وسی و دو که آفاب در برج قویس
بود — پیش حابه بر آورده ار پشه یک لگه گذشته (۹۸) در حلگه دبه
عقوب بrol احلال نمودند * دیگر ار آخما مقام کردید و رور دیگر کوچ
کوچ متوجه هدستان شدید *

وار سه بهصد وسی و پنج درین هفت هشت سال چند مریه لشکر
محاس هدوسان (۸۱۰) که کرده اند در هر مرتبه ولاتی و پرگه تسجیری
نموده اند — مثل بهره و محور و سیالکوت و دیپالپور ولاہور و عیره ما آنکه
مرتبه پنجم رور حُمّعه عره صفر سنه بهصد وسی و دو ار دبه عقوب
برول احلال کوچ متوجه هدستان شدید ولاہور و سرہند و هر
ولایت که در سر راه بود فتح کردید — نارسح هشتم ماه رحم رور حُمّعه
سنه در پایی پست سلطان ابراهیم بن سلطان سکندر بن بھلول لودی حنگ
صف کرده — بعایت آلهی عالی آمدید — و سلطان ابراهیم در آن حنگ
کُشے گشید — و اس فتح مخصوص ارعایت آلهی بود — ار برای آنکه سلطان

دایم درین هوس بود که در هدسان (۸۱۵) درآید وار پیست راثی
امرا و نامواعی برادران میسر و مسترگی شد * آخر الوقت که برادران
رسد وار امرایان هیچو کسی عالمد که حلاف مقصود اشان تواشد حکای
کرد—در سنه ^{۹۲۵} بهصد ویست ویح سوررا بمحیگ در دو سه گری
گرفتند—ومردم سوررا قتل عام کردند *

و در رور مذکور ملک مصورو بوسفری که پدر افعانی آغاچه ناشد—
آمه حضرت را ملارمت (۸۲) کرد * حضرت نادشاه دخترش افعانی
آغاچه را گرفه در عده خود در آوردند و ملک مصورو رخصه دادند—
واسپ و سروپای پادشاهانه * عایت فرمودند که رفه مردم و رعاما و
عین را آورده بوطه های خود امدادان سارد *

وقاس ییگ که در کابل بود عرصه داشت فرستاد که شاه را به تو لد
شد * شکون فتح هد و نخت املش گستاخی کرده بوشه ام * دیگر نادشاه
صاحب اند—هرچه رصای ایشان * نادشاه در ساعت میرزا هدال نام
بهادید *

و بعد فیح سور رحاب بهره روان شدند و در بصره آمدند و بالان نکرده
الاما داده چهار لک شاهرخی گرفه مردم لشکر عده بوکر نفس کرده
متوجه کابل شدند *

درین اثنا ار مردم بدحشان عرصه داشت آمد که میرزا حان فوت
شد—میرزا سلیمان حورد سال واوریگ سردیک—وکر اس ولاست مکید
که ماده بدحشان ار دست برود * تا فکر بدحشان کردن والده میرزا
سلیمان میرزای (۸۶) مذکور را گرفه آورده بود * حضرت نادشاه حسب
المدعا و حاطر حواه ایشان حای شپست و حاگیر پدر تعین بودند

* نادشاه and نادشاهانه The M.S. writes indifferently (نادشاهانه)
With equal caprice it inserts *zamma*, *hamza*, under-dotted *sīn*, &c.

وار دلدار بیگ گلریگ بیگ و گلپهره بیگ و هدال سررا و گلدن بیگ
وآلور سررا *

عرض که گرفن کامل را شگون گرفه بودند که هه فریدان در کامل
شده اند عبر دو بیگ که در حوت شد اند مهرجان (۶۲۰) (۷۸) بیگ ار
ماهم بیگ و گلریگ سکم اردلدار سکم *

بولد حضرت هابون پادشاه که پسر کلان حضرت فردوس مکانی اند —
ولادت مارک ایشان در ش سه شهه چهارم دی قعده سنه بهصد
و سیزده — در ارک کامل در وقت که آفتاب در برج حوت بود — بولد
شدید — و در همان سال حضرت فردوس مکانی حودرا فرمودند هه امرا
وسامن الناس که مرا نادر نادشاه گوئید والا اوایل قل ار بولد حضرت
هابون نادشاه میرزا نادر موسوم و مرسوم بودند بلک هه نادشاه را دهای را
میرزا می گنبد و در سال بولد اشان حودرا نادر نادشاه گویاید * تاریخ
تولد حضرت حت آشیانی سلطان هابون حان یاوه اند — و دیگر شاه فیروز
قدرت ناوه اند *

و بعد ار تولد فریدان حر آمد که شاهی بیگ حار را شاه اسماعیل
کشت *

حضرت نادشاه کامل را ساصل میرزا داده حود اهل و عیال و فریدان
که هابون نادشاه و مهرجهان بیگ (۷۸) و ناربول میرزا و معصومه سلطان
سکم و میرزا کامران ناشد — هراه گرفه متوجه سرقند شدید — و مامداد
شاه اسماعیل قبح سرقند کردید — و با هشت ماه نایی ماور الهر در تحت
تصوف اشنان بود — وار ناموافقی برادران و محالفت اهل معل در کول
ملک ارعید الله حان شکست یافتند و سواست در آن ولايت بود * پس
حاس بدحشان و کامل مووجه شدید — و دیگر حیال ماور الهر ار سر بر
کردید — و در سنه بهصد و ده ولايت کامل میسر شد بود *

در لری (۱۰) کوه سی ماه روی آش حواهم امداحت و شاهم در مادی
حراءه آش اذرید مادام که از آمدن ما حیردار شد اند * وقت
فمع از آن امساله و از این حاصل ما مانعه عدم حواهم شد * اما آمدن
مردم فعله حسرت حک کرده و پیغ کرده بودند *

سررا حل در حاصله واللَّهُ حود که حاصله نداشته بودند سیان شدند *
آن رحم مرد سرحدرا آورده آن داه خلندند و سررا محمد حسین در
حایه آنچه حود که از حوره ادشانه بود از وهم حل حوره ادر معرض
امداخته حدم دری را نسب که برمد * عاقبت الامر مردم نادشانی
حیردار شده * سررا حمد حسین را از معرض برآورده بیش نادشانه
ورددند * تقدیم از مر حسرت به طرح حالی حود گناه سررا محمد
حسین را حسدند * و خنده حملی حایه حود دسوزانی آمد و رفت غر
روره و رئاست حاضر سررا از ستر مسکرده ماعار حاضر کیست محاط
حایه شد و در ساحت حاوحاکر من بودند *

و کامل را (۱۱) از قل سررا حل حاصل ساحه حدای عالی باشان
ارزی داشت و در آنوقت ییسوسه ساله بودند و شیخ فردی
داشتد و در آرزوی فرد سار بودند و در هنده سالگی از عاسه
سلطان یکم دصرد سلطان احمد سررا دصرد بود و در سرمانه گی
بودند و کرسی کامل حدای عالی مبارک کرده که هنده فرد شد *

اول از آنکه مام سکم باشد حضرت همانون نادشانه و باریول سررا
و میرحسان سکم واشان دولت یکم و فاروق سررا *

ذکر معصومه سلطان یکم دصرد سلطان احمد سررا در حس رائیدن
بوب شد * نام مادر را دصرد ماندند *

وارکلرچ یکم کامران سررا و عیکری سررا و شاهرج سررا و سلطان
احمد سررا و گلendar یکم *

دریاشد* مدیع الرماں میررا ارجحه تعطیم پادشاه پیش آمن دریاشد* در اس اثنا پادشاه از در در آمدید* میررا عامل بودید که قاسم بیگ فوطة حضرت پادشاه را گرفته کشید ما بر توق سگک و دو الون سگک گفت که فرار چین داده بودید که میررا پیش در آمن دریاشد* درس اثنا میررا ماصراب تمام پیش در آمن حضرت پادشاه را دریاشد*

وحد روی که در حراسان بودید میررا ایام هر کدام نکلیف میرمایی می عودید و حشهای میگردید و تمای ماعات و محلات را سیر میسعودید* میررا ایام نکلیف رمستان عودید که توقف نماید که بعد از رمسان باوریگ حیگ میکیم* اماً اصلاً و قطعاً نتواستند بمحیگ قرار داد* مدت هشتاد سال حراسان را سلطان حسین میررا امداد و عمور ساخته بود— اماً میررا ایام با شتن ماه سواستد که حای پدر را نگاه دارید* و چون پادشاه ایشان را بروای دیدند موجه حرج و حریفات ایشان (۵۶) حاما تعین بوده بودید و بهاء دیدن آنها سخاب کابل روان شدید*

و در آن سال برف سیار باریک بود* راهها علطف کردید* حضرت و قاسم بیگ از برای بردیکی راه— اس راه را احیار بوده بودید والا امرای دیگر کگایش داده بودید* حون که گفعه امراها نکردید— اسها هر یک تعامل کرده— میرسد* حضرت و قاسم سگک مع پسران خود نا سه چهار رور برف دور کرده راه را طمار میگردید مردم لشکر ار عف میگذشتند* مان روش تا بعورید رسیدید و در آشنا از هزارهای ماعی محضرت ور خورده حیگ کردید* ار گاو و گوسعد سیار واشیای پیشار ار مردم هزارها بدنست مردم پادشاهی افاد و باولجه سجد موجه کابل شدید*

در پای مار که رسیدید— شیدید که میررا حان و میررا محمد حسین کورکان ماعی شد اند و کل را قل دارید* مردم کل حضرت پادشاه فرمایهای دلداری و دلساای بوشهه و رستادید که مردانه ناشید— ما هم آمدیم*

حامرا ماند * صاحبی باع که مردم وصلی ** آنکه *** ماشد—یکه رار
نکه منفای داده گذاشتند *

درس انا فرمایه سلطان حسین میررا ساکد آمدید که ما (۴b)
چال حنگ باوریگ آدارم * اگر شما هم یائید سیار حوت * حضرت
آمیزی را از حدا بطلبید * عاقبت الامر سوی ایشار روانه
گشتد * در اثای طی طریق حر آمد که سلطان حسین میر را شناسار شدید *
امرای حضرت مادشاه عرص رسایدید که چون سلطان حسین میر را شفار
شدم—مساب آست که برگشته تکامل ماید رفت * حضرت فرمودید که
چون ایمندار راه آمد ایم میر را عراپرسی موده بربدم * عاقبت الامر
متوجه حراسان شدید * چون از تشریف آوردن مادشاه که میر را بایل شیدید
هر هه ناسقال روان شدم—عیر مدیع الرمان میر را که بربسوق ^{۱۱} یگ
ودو الون یگ که امرای سلطان حسین میر را بودید—چین گند که
چون مادشاه از مدیع الرمان میر را حوردید پارده ^{۱۰} ساله—مساب جان
است که پادشاه را بورده دریابد * درین انا قاسم یگ گته که سال
حوردید اماً توره کلاسد—ار برای آنکه جد مرنه صرب شمشیر مع
سرقد کرده اند * آخر چین قرار دادید (۵a) که یکمرتبه مادشاه را بورده

* ماندند (Used transitively So too at ۵۹a &c)

** وصل (وصیل) Text

*** (آنکه) This word may be *atka* or *anaga* and is to be explained by the known ownership of the garden which was made by Bâbar's paternal uncle, Ulugh Beg. But for the undotted "prop", it might have been read as *اکه* and as referring to Khân zâda Begam or Mâham, Bâbar's wife, both of whom, ^{۱۱} will be noticed, are styled *âka* (*janâm*) and *âha* respectively Cf a use of *انکه* p 28b

چ (باوریگ) ^{۱۲} Vambery's derivation of this multiform word, "Üzbeg, his own master, independent" (History of Bohhara, 245) is at least *ben trorato* and in congruity with the acts of the tribe. But several careful writers, Blochmann amongst them, have chosen the form *Uzbak*

برسوق (برسوق) ^{۱۳} Text, sic for

لارین حوماق—ناس طور حال سی برآق بوگل حضرت حق سماویه کرده
متوجه بدهشات و کامل شد*

در قدر بدهشات لشکر و مردم حشرو شاه بودند* آئند حضرت
مادشاه نایام را ملارمت کرده* با وجود گاهان که بد کرده—ماسد نایسر
میررا شهد کرده و سلطان مسعود میررا امیل کشیخ بودند و اس هردو
میررا عموراده مادشاه نایام بوده اند—وقل ار آن که عور آن حضرت
در ائم فراعها بولاست او افاده بود—ار صرورت رفته بودند—بعضیانها
و درشیانها آنحضرت را از ولایت خود سدر کرده بود* و حضرت
مادشاه که معهوم مردی و مردی و مرؤت بوده اند—اصلًا و قطعاً در مقام
استای آن شدید و فرموده اند که ارجواهر و طلا آلات هر چند که دلش
حوالد بردارد—و بعثت قطار شتر و سخشش (۱۵) اسر ماره راه برده
بحت وسلامت رحست نایه سراسار رفت و حضرت مادشاه متوجه
کامل شدند*

در آن وقت حکم کامل محمد معمیم—پسرِ دو الون ارعون که پدر
کلاری ناید یگم بود—داشت* کلار را بعد از وفات الع ییگ میررا—
ارعد الرراق میررا گرفته وار (۱۶) میررا عد الرراق مذکور عموراده
مادشاه بوده*

مادشاه دولت کامل آمدند* دو سه رور فلیگی شد و بعد از حد رور
تعهد و قول کلار را به سدگان حضرت مادشاه سرده نایال و اساب
خود شدهار پیش پدرِ خود رفت*

و فتح کلار در اوخر ماه ربیع الثاني سنه بهصد و ده بوده* بعد از میر
شد کلار به سگش رفت و یکاره المجه کرده تکال آمدند*
و حضرت حام که والده حضرت مادشاه ناشد—در شش رور نس
کرده—ار عالم فای مدار المغارحلت بُودند* و در باغ بوروری حضرت

وتحمّل که مانحصرت معارک و میلک روی بود — ارکم نادشاهی مسول است * دو بیوت نصریب شمشیر فیح سهرقد کرده * مریم اول حضرت نادشاه نایام دوارده ساله بوده اند و مریم دوم بورده ساله بود اند و مریم سوم بنت و دو ساله بوده اند — و شش ماهه فلی شد اند و مثل سلطان حسن مررا نادراعموی اشان در حراسان بوده اند — اشان کومک برسادید و سلطان محمود حان در کاشعر بودند که طعائی اشان ناشد — اشان سر کومک برسادید * حون مدد و معاویت ارجیح حا مرسن — مابوس شدند * درس طور وقف شاهی پیگ حان گنه فرساد که آگر (۳۱) حاراده پیگ حواهر خود را من سست کند مان ماوشما صلح شود و راط اخاد تباشد * آخر صرورت شد حاراده سکم را بخان مذکور سست کرده خود برآمدید * مادوست کس بیاده و در گفت حان و در نائی آییا حاروق — الملك

* Comparing this phrase with A I's parallel passage (معارک) (Bibl Ind I 67) we find a curious resemblance, e.g. و آن قدر مستقیمت را نیس آمده کم نادشاهی ارو بسود ناسد — و برد که — آنحصرت را نیس آمده کم نادشاهی ارو بسود ناسد — و آن قدر دلمی — وتحمّل که آنحصرب — در معارک — —

** Pavet de Courteille and Steinberg render *chapans* by *haillons* and 'tattered garments' Frskine (127 and n) by "long frocks" Vambery gives no *chapans* but *chapans* which he translates *Oberrock* and *par-deguise* Steinberg has no *chapans*

*** (حاروق) The words of the next phrase present difficulty. The sense is 'with clubs in their hands', and that this is so, is shewn by the parallel passages from the Turkî and Persian texts of Bîbar's Memoirs (آخر خانی و ایلک لاریدا خانی و اداق لاریدا خاروق و ایکیس (Turkî) (B VI Add 26, 324 p 4 Ilminski has verbal variants) لاریدا خانی ایردی (Persian) در دسیای انسان حوبیها و در ناهای انسان خاروق و در کتعیای انسان خانی The difficult words may be a Turkî interpolation in Gul badan's text. The word which follows حاروق may be read leather, but includes the notion of leathern and neither the Turkî nor the Persian text uses any such qualifying word ایلک لاریدا — حوبیا It may be that when Gul badan was writing she had her Father's book before her Her close reproduction of his words points to this or to intimate recollection of his words

سُمَّ اللَّهُ الرَّحْمَنُ الرَّحِيمُ

حکم شد بود که آیه ار واقعهٔ فردوس مکانی و حصرت حت
آشیانی میدانسته باشد سو سید* وقتی که حضرت فردوس مکانی ار دار
العا مدار العا حرایدید—اس حیر هشت ساله بود و سال^{*} واقع شاد
کمرک محاطر ماند بود[#] سار حکم پادشاهی آیه شد و محاطر بود بوشه
مشود*

در اول اس حرو ار واقعهٔ حضرت پادشاه نامام بوشه میشود—
آخرجه در واقعهٔ مامه حضرت پادشاه نامام اس سخان مذکور است—سار
پیسا او سرگا بوشه میشود*

ار رمان حضرت صاحب فرانی تا رمان حضرت فردوس مکانی ار
سلطین ما صه هیچکس برای اشنال ترددات نکرده* در دوارده سالگی
پادشاه شدید و ساریع بضم شهر رمضان المارک سه بقصد و به در
خطه^{**} اندحان (۳۰) که پایی محنت ولات فرعانه است—خطه حوانه[#]
مدئت یارده ساله کمال در الکه ماوراء الهرم سلاطین چعیه و سوره
و اوریگیه حنگها و ترددات بوده اند که ریل قلم ارشح تعداد آن عاشر
وقاس است* و آنقدر محنت و مهالک که در اب حیوانگری محضرت
ما روی بوده—کم کس را روی بوده باشد* و آن قدر دلیری و مردانگی

* Misread in translating as نه اس (سیار) ^{as}
** A F (Bib Ind 87) has خطه دلکسای

1* (خطه)

احوال هایون نادشاه

جمع کرده گلشن بیکم سِت نادر نادشاه عمه اکبر نادشاه *

Copied from the British Museum Persian MS (Or 166),
by Annette S Beveridge

* (نادشاه) This title stands on the first page of the MS and on paper like that of the MS. The page is numbered 15 in the Arabic and 2 in the BM marking. The MS is numbered by folios, and both with Arabic figures—inscribed in India—and with Roman, added by the BM. This reproduction and the translation of the MS are numbered in agreement with the Roman figures. A subdivision of folios into pages (1a, 1b &c) allows easier reference. One index series for both parts (Persian text and translation).

هایون نامه

تصنیف گلبدن بیگم سِت با بر بادساہ *

* (Note to *بادساہ*) This title is inscribed on the first fly leaf of the volume containing the *MS*. It is upon paper of colour and kind differing from that of the *MS* and identical with four blank pages bound up at the end of the volume, possibly with the intention of writing up the missing terminal portion of the work.

